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"THE JUKES"

A STUDY IN CRIME, PAUPERISM, DISEASE

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INTRODUCTION.

The line of inquiry and study which Mr. Dugdale has pursued in the work briefly recited in these pages, will be useful in aiding the efforts of all persons who are searching out the preventable sources of crime and endeavoring to repress and diminish the criminal offenses which afflict society. Whoever will carefully investigate the history of individual offenders and their crimes, and trace out the careers of typical members and groups of the offending classes, will recognize the practical bearings of such definite and comprehensive study of the physical, mental and social circumstances under which the various classes of criminals are nurtured in the midst of the people until they grow up into the habits and instincts of criminality.

The criminal is a morbid product of the community, the family and the various circumstances of daily life in which his childhood is spent. The departure downward, from virtue to vice and crime, is undoubtedly possible in the career of any youth, because the passions ungoverned, the will and conscience stupefied, perverted or even occasionally overcome by disease — as in epilepsy or by wrongly indulged appetites — may result in criminal as well as all sorts of vicious acts. But the number of really healthy, vigorous and reasonably well born and well trained children who ever fall into a career of crime, is exceedingly small. Even the accidental fall of such persons admits of rescue. The habitually criminal classes spring almost exclusively from a different stock; their youthful days were spent in vicious indulgence or amidst the degrading and blighting surroundings of physical and social defilement, with only a flickering of the redeeming and saving influence of desire and hope for a virtuous and useful life, and at the late day when the laws against crime have overtaken them and brought them before courts and consigned them to prisons, the habits of vicious thought and criminal action have acquired the strength and quality of instincts. The criminal career of the offender so trained, becomes at last a reckless warfare against society and its ministers of justice; the timid carrier of

stolen pelf may soon become an astute burglar, armed with deadly weapons, and thenceforward any desperate crime may follow.

It is not on account of an effeminate sentiment of pity for the offender, but for the sturdy purpose to protect society and to save from crime and the causes of crime, that the history and characteristics of criminals are investigated, and the methods of dealing with them in the name of justice and for purposes of penal discipline closely inspected. Whoever will pursue this kind of investigation concerning the offending classes will soon recognize the fact that the outgrowth of criminal character, as well as the chief problems in the prevention of crime, must be considered upon a basis of comprehensive knowledge of the bodily and mental states, and surrounding physical conditions which characterize the lives of criminals. Not only do the most available and effective correctional and reformatory measures depend on the practical recognition of disordered and vicious states of the bodily, as well as the moral life, but all experience is proving how true it is that the real and permanently preventive measures against crimes have to be applied in the home life of the people. The remedial and repressing penal discipline of convicts is sought as the chief end of public justice in our prisons and reformatories, and although this is a necessary and by no means fruitless public duty, it is vastly more expensive and unsatisfactory than the application of preventive measures. The penal treatment of offenders being within the domain of the State police and judicial authority, must be enforced, however ignorantly or imperfectly; but the truly preventive means must be adjusted within the bosom of society, and will be available and effective just in proportion to the intelligence, health and active virtues of the people. In the progress of medical science the study of the *rationale* of disease, the close inspection of morbid as well as healthful conditions, has conduced to a correct understanding of the preventable causes of sickness, and led to the last and most important branch of medical study, public hygiene, which mainly treats of the prevention and extinction of disease. In a like manner, the inquiry into the preventable causes of criminal and degraded lives needs to be pursued till we have acquired a mastery over them. The first reconnoissance of the home sources and haunts of the habitually criminal

classes reveals the fact that, out of the same social soil from which spring the majority of the criminals, there, also, chiefly grow up the vagrants and paupers; the ignorant, vicious and incapable classes which annoy and burden the community. This important fact is worthy of the comprehensive study to which it is leading;—the revelation of the points of departure; the relative distribution; the correlations of pauperism, disease, vagabondage and crime; and the variety and sequence of the tributary agencies which produce these reciprocal results. It has become apparent that the prevention of crime requires the same comprehensive knowledge and treatment of the sanitary and physiological, the domestic and social, the educational, industrial and religious interests of the common people, as must be applied to prevent pestilent diseases, and the hereditary entailment of morbid qualities. Mr. Dugdale's investigation, in 1874, of the lineage and home life of one of the largest family groups of criminal and degraded classes ever studied; and, in 1875, his prosecution of a similar investigation in a large number of convicts in the prisons, taken at random, are efforts to establish such a concensus, the utility of which, in the promotion of sound and effectual measures to diminish the causes of crime, requires no discussion. In all that relates to human society and the wants of mankind, "the determination of evils is the first step to their remedies."

ELISHA HARRIS, M. D.,

Corresponding Secretary Prison Association of N. Y.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In frankness, the object of issuing the following *essays* in a separate form, is to invite criticism if the subject and its treatment entitle it to notice.

They are purely tentative, the results of two special circuits of observation, the first of county jails in 1874, the last of the State prisons of New York State, in 1875, both ordered by resolution of the Prison Association, and published in its reports.

In the first paper — "The Jukes" — two reasons dictate the propriety of adopting a pseudonym to designate the family therein studied : first, because there are worthy people among them who must be protected from aspersion ; secondly, because there are forty-two family names included in the lineage which, for convenience of treatment, require to be reduced to a generic appellation.

In the genealogy of the "Jukes," the *method* of investigation is the objective point: it consists, primarily, in arranging the facts in the order of their occurrence, giving the age at which they took place, and following the sequence of phenomena as many generations as possible ; and, secondly, so that the relative importance of the heredity and the environment may be weighed in the shaping of individual careers. The facts accumulated are too meagre to offer authoritatively, and mainly illustrate the application and justification of the method.

The migration of families, the difficulty of determining the paternity of illegitimates, and consequently the characteristics of parents, the necessity of depending upon tradition for facts concerning earlier generations, and other difficulties, oblige me to admit the great defectiveness in the range of the facts presented. On the other hand, other causes precluded my including the effects of geographical, political, social, economic, hygienic and other factors which largely constitute the study of environment.

The second paper is the result of an examination of felon convicts on a very ample schedule, covering their physical, mental, moral and

ancestral traits. The intention was to test the accuracy of what purports to be the public records of crime in this State; to establish the value of expert work in making a minute census of the prison population, including the trustworthiness of convict testimony, and to lay the basis for a wider and more thorough application of the method of research pursued in the study of the "Juke" family. The effort to trace back the genealogy in these cases was sufficiently extended to fulfill some of the conditions of the present investigation, but no exhaustive prosecution of the subject was pushed, as no adequate means were at hand to that end. Thus, even the limited number of schedules of individual criminals already gathered (numbering 233) remain in hand till adequate authority and means shall warrant the further prosecution of the research to positive conclusions.

I am informed that $28,000 was raised in two days to purchase a rare collection of antique jewelry and bronzes recently discovered in classic ground, forty feet below the *debris*. I do not hear of as many pence being offered to fathom the *debris* of our civilization, however rich the yield. I do not complain that men of wealth expend their means as they prefer, but it seems not captious that I should wish crime and pauperism were as rare as the exhumed treasures, that they might arouse equal zeal for deep research. There is, perhaps, yet hope, for these subjects have a claim to far greater antiquity, inasmuch as they reach back to time immemorial, which assuredly antedates the bronzes.

R. L. D.

"THE JUKES."

A Record and Study of the Relations of Crime, Pauperism and Disease.

In July, 1874, having been appointed a committee to visit thirteen of the jails of this State and report thereupon, I made a tour of inspection in pursuance of that appointment. No specially striking cases of criminal careers, traceable through several generations, presented themselves till ——— county was reached. Here, however, were found six persons, under four family names, who turned out to be blood relations in some degree. The oldest, a man of fifty-five, was waiting trial for receiving stolen goods; his daughter, aged eighteen, held as witness against him; her uncle, aged forty-two, burglary in the first degree; the illegitimate daughter of the latter's wife, aged twelve years, upon which child the latter had attempted rape, to be sent to the reformatory for vagrancy; and two brothers, aged respectively nineteen and fourteen, accused of an assault with intent to kill, they having pushed a child over a high cliff and nearly killed him. Upon trial the oldest was acquitted though the goods stolen were found in his house, his previous good character saving him; the guilt belonged to his brother-in-law, the man aged forty-two, above mentioned, who was living in the house. This brother-in-law is an illegitimate child, an habitual criminal and the son of an unpunished and cautious thief. He had two brothers and one sister, all of whom are thieves, the sister being the contriver of crime, they its executers. The daughter of this woman, the girl aged eighteen above mentioned, testified at the trial which resulted in convicting her uncle and procuring his sentence for twenty years to State prison, that she was forced to join him in his last foray; that he loaded her with the booty, and beat her on the journey home, over two miles, because she lagged under the load. When this girl was released, her family in jail and thus left without a home, she was forced to make her lodging in a brothel on the outskirts of the city. Next morning she applied to the judge to be recommitted to prison "for protection," stating she had been obliged to submit to nine men the night previous. She has since been sent to the house of refuge. Of the two boys, one was discharged by the Grand Jury; the other was tried and received five years' imprisonment in Sing Sing.

These six persons belonged to a long lineage, reaching back to some

of the early colonists, who had intermarried so slightly with the emigrant population of the old world that they may be called a strictly American family. They had lived in the same locality for generations, and were so despised by the reputable community that their family name *had come to be used generically as a term of reproach.*

That this reproach was deserved soon became manifest. With comparatively little inquiry, it was found that out of twenty-nine adult males, in ages ranging from fifteen to seventy-five, the immediate blood relations of these six persons, seventeen of them were criminals, or fifty-eight per cent; while fifteen were convicted of some degree of offense, and received seventy-one years of sentence. Fuller details are shown in the table below, the name "Juke" standing for the blood relations of those found in the jail, the capital "X" for relations by marriage or cohabitation.

TABLE I.

Showing Crime in the Illegitimate Branch of Ada Juke.

	Total number of adults.	Adult males.	Adult females.	Number of male criminals.	Number of convicted male criminals.	Years of sentence.
Juke blood	49	29	20	17	15	71
X blood	32	16	16	5	5	8¼
Total	81	45	36	22	20	79¼

The crimes and misdemeanors they committed were assault and battery, assault with intent to kill, murder, attempt at rape, petit larceny, grand larceny, burglary, forgery, cruelty to animals. With these facts in hand, it was thought wise to extend the investigation to other branches of the family, and explore it more thoroughly.

The sheriff communicated the names of two physicians,—both life-long residents of the county,—one of them 84 years old, who had for many years been town physician. These gentlemen gave your committee the genealogies of many of the branches of this family, furnishing particulars of the individuals composing them. This opened up a large field of study, so large indeed, that at the time, your committee had no idea of its extent and still less of the results which an analysis would yield.

Having brought back to New York a very incomplete genealogical

tree, including nearly 100 persons, the Corresponding Secretary urged me to push the inquiry further. For that purpose a return to the county was decided upon, and a further search instituted. The facts in hand, however, both suggested and necessitated a modification of the current statistical method of studying social phenomena by complementing it with a parallel study of individual cases reaching into causation. Even when the figures of such statistics are reliable, a great deal too much confidence has been placed on the supposed exactness of their conclusions, which, after all, rests on the theory of averages in which unforeseen and possible mistakes are eliminated by opposite errors becoming compensative. Statistics cumulate facts which have some prominent feature in common into categories that only display their static conditions or their relative proportions to other facts. Its reasoning on these is largely inferential. To be made complete it must be complemented by a parallel study of individual careers, tracing, link by link, the essential and the accidental elements of social movement which result in the sequence of social phenomena, the distribution of social growth and decay, and the tendency and direction of social differentiation. To socio-statics must be allied socio-dynamics. Among the notable objections of pure statistics in the present connection is the danger of mistaking coincidences for correlations and the grouping of causes which are not distributive. Heat at one degree warms, at another withers, at another devastates, and the three degrees produce effects which cannot be reduced to an average. It may group identical effects, as for instance murder, which may be the result of diverse causes or of the concurrence of various groups of causes. It collates similar facts which, operating at differences of time, place, or circumstance, produce diverse effects not classifiable under the same head. It loses, in reducing its matter to an average, a maximum or a minimum, points of initial divergence, which, with slight deflection at first, produce opposite results when followed through successive removes to their culmination. Lastly, it does not deal adequately with complex contributive or distributive conditions which modify both causes and effects.

In the study of the pathology of social disorders, many of them resting, as they do, solely upon organic disease of the body or mind, and therefore, requiring a critical exploring and analysis of constitutional habits, the above recited discriminations are absolutely necessary and had to be provided for. By a modification of the original schedule prepared by the Corresponding Secretary — a modification not of the original matter, but one affecting the form, adding the element of time and carefully recording the order of events — it was easily adapted to the objective point of the present inquiry, the study of the sequence of phenomena as set forth in criminal careers, to discover if there is a

law in the evolution of crime, knowing which, it becomes easy to institute measures adequate to its control.

Experience shows that any given series of social conditions — as honest childhood, criminal maturity and pauper old age, which sometimes occur in the life of a single individual — may be stretched over several generations, each step being removed from the other by a generation, and possibly, in some cases, by two. This illustration shows that the nature of the investigation necessitated the study of families through successive generations, because only thus was it possible to include the full sequence of phenomena and reach the entire facts embraced in the two main branches of inquiry into which the subject necessarily divides itself: the heredity that fixes the organic characteristics of the individual, and the environment which affects modifications in that heredity. It reduces the method of study, then, to one of historico-biographical * synthesis united to socio-static analysis, enabling us to estimate the cumulative effects of any condition which has operated through successive generations; heredity giving us those elements of character which are derived from the parent as a birth-right, environment giving us all the events occurring after birth which have had an influence in the shaping of the individual career or deflecting its initial tendency.

Heredity and environment, then, are the two parallels between which the whole question of crime and its treatment stretches, and the objective point is to determine how much of crime results from heredity, how much from environment. The answer to this will determine the limits of possibility in the work of amending vicious lives, and further, will indicate some of the automatic methods which the organization of society sets in motion, which, without this special design in view, nevertheless have the effect of changing criminal careers into useful ones. The study of such spontaneous social activity will furnish models to be followed in dealing with the criminal and dependent classes.

Now, heredity takes two leading forms that need to be contrasted; consanguinity and the crossing of stocks; each presenting diverse results. The environment may judiciously be divided into two main branches: the surroundings which throw families into criminal careers and keep them in that groove; the surroundings which take them out of criminal careers and keep them out of it. These two natural divisions, with their subdivisions, form the key-note to the present inquiry. A reference to

* The authorities for the facts collected are: for genealogies, intemperance and social habits, the testimony of old residents who have known the older branches; of relatives, of employers and of officials; for diseases, physicians and poor-house records; for pauperism, the poor-house records; for out-door relief, the books of town poormasters; and for crimes, the records of the county clerk's office and the sheriff's books. No other testimony has been accepted for crime and pauperism except that of official records; and as many of the books could not be obtained, the tables in these respects are very incomplete.

the four charts accompanying this report will show how the events in the life of one parent may influence the career of the children, and likewise enable a strict comparison to be made between the life of any individual and that of his ancestry or his posterity, so that any characteristic which is hereditary will thus be revealed. On the other hand, the environment of each generation can be studied, the changes in that environment can be noted, and the results of the same can be ascertained. We can then know just what is the warp and woof out of which the life of any given individual is woven, and, given our cloth, we know what cloak we can cut out of it.

For the purpose of convenient illustration, the leading facts are grouped in the following diagram, which, however, is not intended to present a generalization of the facts themselves. Taking a general survey of the characteristics of the family under consideration, an arrangement may be made as follows:

Consanguinity.

Crime.		Fornication.		Pauperism.
	Prostitution.		Illegitimacy.	
	Exhaustion.		Intemperance.	
	Disease.		Extinction.	

Not Consanguineous.

In other words, fornication, either consanguineous or not, is the backbone of their habits, flanked on one side by pauperism, and on the other by crime. The secondary features are prostitution, with its complement of bastardy, and its resultant neglected and miseducated childhood; exhaustion, with its complement intemperance and its resultant unbalanced minds: and disease with its complement extinction.

The habitat of the "Jukes."— The ancestral breeding-spot of this family nestles along the forest-covered margin of five lakes, so rocky as to be at some parts inaccessible. It may be called one of the crime cradles of the State of New York, for in subsequent examinations of convicts in the different State prisons, a number of them were found to be the descendants of families equivalent to the "Jukes," and emerging from this nest. Most of the ancestors were squatters upon the soil, lived in log or stone houses similar to slave-hovels, all ages, sexes, relations and strangers "bunking" indiscriminately, and, where not producing illicit relations, evolving an atmosphere of suggestiveness that fatally broke down habits of chastity. Even to this day some of them occupy the self-same shanties built nearly a century ago. Others of these habitations have two rooms, but so firmly has habit established modes of living, that, in many cases, they, nevertheless, only use one congregate dormi-

tory. In many houses I found an overcrowding so close it suggested that these were the country equivalents of the city tenement-houses. Domesticity is impossible. The older girls, finding no privacy within a home overrun with younger brothers and sisters, purchase privacy at the risk of prudence, and the night rambles through woods and tangles end too often in illegitimate offspring. During the last thirty years the establishment of cement-mills through this section of country has brought about the building of houses better suited to secure domesticity, and with this change alone an accompanying change in personal habits is being introduced, which would otherwise be impossible.

The origin of the stock of the "Jukes."— As the point of departure, and forming the first generation of the family which was found in the county jail, was a man who shall be called Max, born between 1720 and 1740. He was a descendant of the early Dutch settlers, and lived much as the backwoodsmen upon our frontiers now do. He is described as "a hunter and fisher, a hard drinker, jolly and companionable, averse to steady toil," working hard by spells and idling by turns, becoming blind in his old age, and entailing his blindness upon his children and grandchildren. He had a numerous progeny, some of them almost certainly illegitimate. Two of his sons married two out of six sisters, who were born between the year 1740 and 1770, but whose parentage has not been absolutely ascertained. The probability is they were not all full sisters; that some, if not all of them, were illegitimate. The family name, in two cases, is obscure, which accords with the supposition that at least two of the women were half-sisters to the other four, the legitimate daughters bearing the family name, the illegitimate keeping either the mother's name or adopting that of the reputed father. Five of these women in the first generation were married; the sixth one it has been impossible to trace, for she moved out of the county. Of the five that are known three have had illegitimate children before marriage. One who is called in these pages Ada Juke, but who is better known to the public as "Margaret, the mother of criminals," had one bastard son, who is the father, grandfather and great-grandfather of the distinctively criminal line. Another sister had two illegitimate sons, who appear to have had no children. A third sister had four, three boys and one girl, the three oldest children being mulattoes, and the youngest, a boy, white. The fourth sister is reputed chaste, while no information could be gathered respecting the fifth in this respect, but she was the mother of one of the distinctively pauperized lines, and married one of the sons of Max. The progeny of these five has been traced with more or less exactitude through five generations, thus making the total heredity which has been enrolled stretch over seven generations, if we count Max as the first. The number of descendants registered includes 540 individuals who are

CHART I. The Illegitimate Posterity of Ada Juke, with the Persons they Married, as Recorded in 1874.

GENERATION 2.	GENERATION 3		GENERATION 4.		GENERATION 5.				GENERATION 6.		GENERATION 7.	Line.
Ada Juke. Born probably between 1735 and 1760. Harlot before marriage; not industrious; healthy; no property; not criminal; temperate; o. relief in old age. (For legitimate posterity, see Chart II, Gen. 2.)	(1) **b. m. A.** 70. Born 1764; laborer; somewhat industrious; honest; no property; no o. relief; not criminal; temperate; at ce died, 1856; marriage between cousins.	⋈ (6) **l. f. B.** Reputable; temperate; not criminal; healthy; no property; no o. relief; died 1849. (See Chart III, Gen. 3.)	(1) **l. m. A. B.** 75. When young, licentious; industrious; would work well on a spurt, but not steadily; reputed to be a sheep stealer, but never caught; quarrelsome disposition; habitual drunkard in old age; at 51, o. relief for wife, 1 y.; 53, wife dies; 55, o. relief, 20 years.	= **f. X.** Harlot, with whom he cohabitted; had no children by her. **f. X.** Harlot; before marriage had two bastards; large, fleshy woman; 1852, poor house, 1 y.; 1852, o. relief; died of syphilis; town burial.	(1) **l. m. A. B. X.** 51.	Laborer; at 30, g. lar., c. jail, 90 d.; assault and bat., c. jail 90 d.; 49, rape of his niece, S. Sing, 5 y.; no property.	⋈ **f. X.** 33.	At 30, p. house, 3 y.; 31, bastard boy while husband in prison for rape of his niece; harlot after marriage.	(1) **l. m. A. B. X. X.** 17. At 15, father in prison; 16½, p. lar., Alb. Pen., 6 m.; 17, vagrant. 3 boys, 3 girls; eldest child still-born; 2 girls dead.		1 2
					(2) **l. f. A. B. X.** 46.	At 10, p. house; harlot; 18, p. house, confined; 24, mother dies; 28, o. relief, 4 y.; 35, o. relief, 1 y.; 40, o. relief, 1 y.; 43, o. relief, 1 y.; intemperate; becomes procuress for her eldest son of the child 12 years old, whom he was subsequently forced to marry; owns hut and half acre of land.	⋈ (1) **b. m. E. X. X.** 46.	At 28, o. relief, 5 y.; 37, c. jail; 40, o. relief, 1 y.; 43, o. relief, 1 y.; habitual drunkard; owns lot and hut; married second cousin; married A. B. X. after all their children were born, to enable him to transfer property.	(1) **b. m. A. B. X. X.** 26. Forced to marry X. after seducing her. (2) **b. m. A. B. X. E. X. X.** 19. Malicious assault with intent to kill, S. Sing, 5 y. (3) **b. m. A. B. X. E. X. X.** 15. Same charge, but not prosecuted; c. jail, 90 d.	⋈ **l. f. X.** 1 child	3 4 5
			(3) **l. m. A. B. X.** 37.	Laborer and canaller; at 15, mother dies; 17, p. house, bound out; 20, threat to kill, c. jail; 22, bur. 3d, S. Sing, 3 y.; 24, cohabits with X.; now reformed; intemperate; rather industrious.	=	**l. f. X.** 31.	Harlot; lazy; temperate; cohabits; no property; cannot read or write; 18, cohabits with A. B. X.	8 bastard children		6
			(4) **l. m. A. B. X.** 36.	Laborer; at 12, p. lar., c. jail, 30 d.; 14, mother dies, p. house, 1 y.; 21, p. lar., c. jail, 30 d.; g. lar., S. Sing, 3 y.; 34, c. jail, 30 days; 36, c. jail, 30 d.	=	**f. X.**	Harlot.	2 children		8
			(5) **l. m. A. B. X.** 34.	At 12, mother dies, p. house, 4 y.; 17, c. jail; 18, p. lar., c. jail, 60 d.; 22, p. lar., 30 d.; loafer; syphilis; no property; laborer.	=	**l. f. X.** 32.	Harlot; was married, but husband left her; has ran away from A. B. X. with another man; syphilis; temperate; rather industrious; cannot read or write.	Childless	9		
			(6) **l. f. A. B. X.** 30.	At 8, mother dies; p. house, 4 y.; harlot; syphilis; married; intemperate; no property; 30, died 1870.	⋈	**m. X.**		1 child dead; 1 boy, 2 girls	10		
			(7) **l. m. A. B. X.** 29.	Laborer; at 7, mother dies, p. house, 4 y.; 16, assault and bat., c. jail; 17, robbery, 1st, Alb. pen., 10 y.; 26 c. jail; loafer; single.					11		
			(8) **l. m. A. B. X.** 26.	Laborer; at 4, mother dies, p. house, 4 y.; 24, p. house, 1 y.; 26, wife dies; town burial; intemperate; no property.	⋈	**f. X.**	1874, died; syphilis; town burial.	1 boy; 1 girl	12		
			(9) **l. m. A. B. X.** 24.	Laborer; at 2, mother dies, p. house, 4 y.; unmarried.					13		
	(2) **l. f. A. B.** 70. Somewhat industrious; temperate; at 34, o. relief, 1 y.; 43, o. relief, 1 y.; 52, husband in S. prison; became prostitute during that period; 57, o. relief, 1 y.; 63, o. relief, 7 y.; died 1871.	⋈ **m. X.** 75. Shoemaker; at 30, forgery, S. prison, 2 y., where he learned shoemaking; 35, o. relief, 1 y.; 44, o. relief, 1 y.; 59, o. relief, 1 y.; 64, o. relief, 9 y.; was intemperate in former times, but not so now; read and write.	**l. m. A. B. X.** 48.	Boatman; at 27, o. relief, 1 y., child died; 37, o. relief, 2 y.; 38, went to war; 46, o. relief, 2 y.; intemperate; industrious; no property; cannot read and write.	⋈	**l. f. B. X.**	Basket maker; 1855, o. relief, 1 y.; child dead; married second consin; 1862, o. relief, 3 y.; 1872, o. relief, 2 y.; temperate.	4 legitimate children	14		
			l. m. A. B. X. 40.	Laborer; at 38, o. relief, 1 y.; 39, abandoned his wife; 40, disorderly, c. jail, 10 d.; somewhat industrious; intemperate; cannot read or write; no property.	⋈	**f. X.**	1872, o. relief, 1 y.; 1873, husband abandons her; 1874, o. relief, 1 y.	3 legitimate girls	15		
			l. m. A. B. X. 50.	Carpenter; 1857, o. relief, 1 y.; good citizen; industrious; read and write; acquired house; lost it.	⋈	**l. f. D. X.** 45.	1857, o. relief, 1 y.; temperate; good citizen; married third consin.		16		
			l. f. A. B. X.	1862, o. relief, 1 y.; 1871, o. relief, 3 y.; temperate.	⋈	**m. X.**	1871, o. relief, 3 y.; good citizen.		17		
			l. f. A. B. X.	Harlot.	=	**m. X.**	Well off; owns real estate; also shares in a powder mill; has acquired property.		18		
			l. f. A. B. X.	Probably a harlot before marriage; 1872, o. relief, 1 y.	⋈	**l. m. X.**	1858, breach of peace, c. jail; 1863, breach of peace, c. jail; 1868, assault and bat., c. jail, 60 d.		19		20
			l. f. A. B. X.	Not traced.	⋈	**l. m. X.**	Not traced.				21
			l. f. A. B. X. 45.	Harlot; basket maker; at 28, o. relief, 1 y.; 32, vagrant, c. jail, 10 d.; 43, o. relief, 2 y.; intemperate; kept brothel.	=	**l. m. D. X.** 54.	At 40, bur. 3d, S. Sing, 5 y.; 44, at war; habitual drunkard; cohabited with third cousin.	2 bastard children, girls			22
	(3) **l. m. A. B.** 67. At 33, kept tavern and brothel; thief, but never caught; 36, o. relief, 1 y.; 39, o. relief, 1 y.; 46, o. relief, 1 y.; 51, o. relief, 2 y.; 52, safe keeping c. jail, 7 d.; 57, o. relief, 1 y.; 65, o. relief, 2 y.; has received other o. relief, but records lost; inherited a few acres, upon which he now lives.	⋈ **b. f. X.** 64. At 30, kept brothel; forfeits bail; 32, c. jail, no prosecution; 33, o. relief, 1 y.; 36, p. house, 1 y.; 43 o. relief, 1 y.; 48, o. relief, 1 y.; 49, c. jail safe keeping, 7 d.; 54, o. relief, 1 y.; 62, o. relief, 1 y.	(1) **l. m. A. B. X.** 45.	Sailor; at 19, burglary with his brother 12 years old; 41, c. jail, safe keeping, 7 d.; unmarried.							23
			(2) **l. f. A. B. X.** 33.	Harlot; at 21, had a bastard girl; married; 25, kept brothel, fined; 30, safe keeping c. jail, 7 d.; intemperate; 33, died in 1863 of the effects of an abortion.	⋈ =	**m. X.** **m. X.**	1855, brothel; 1858, disorderly house, fine; 1859, breach of peace, c. jail, 15 d.; dead; probably impotent.	**b. f. A. B. X. X.** 21. At 14, with child by her uncle; 15, c. jail; 17, married. **b. m. A. B. X. X.** 19. At 15, house of refuge, for p. lar. 2 bastard boys; 2 bastard girls; 2 children dead.	⋈ **m. X.**	**b. f. A. B. X. X. A. B. X.** 6	24 25
			(3) **l. m. A. B. X.** 40.	Laborer; at 12, burglary; 17, burglary, S. prison 2 y.; 22, breach peace, S. Sing, 3 y.; 24, bur., 3d., S. Sing, 3 y.; has been 9 times in prison, and served 14 years; learned iron rolling there; reformed; now rents a quarry; doing well.	=	**f. X.**					26
			(4) **l. m. A. B. X.** 37.	At 20, assault and bat., c. jail 30 d.; 22, bur., 3d, S. Sing, 2 y.; reformed; 31, owns 40 acre farm, a quarry, and is doing well; 37, worth $5,000.	⋈	**l. f. X.** 39.	Cohabits before marriage; industrious; temperate; no disease; read and write; inherited property.	1 legitimate girl			
			(5) **l. f. A. B. X.** 35.	Harlot; at 20, c. jail, 9 days; 22, vagrant, c. jail, 2 d.; 23, forfeits bail; o. relief, 1 y.; 25, married; 31, safe keeping c. jail, 7 d.; o. relief, 1 y.; intemperate; cannot read or write.	⋈	**m. X.**	Canaller; 1862, larceny, S. Sing, 1 y.; married; quarryman; doing better; intemperate; 1870, o. relief, 2 y.	3 legitimate girls			27
			(6) **l. m. A. B. X.** 33.	Quarryman; cannot read or write; went to war; slightly intemperate; not licentious; semi-industrious; no property.	⋈	**l. f. X.** 26.	Industrious; temperate; good repute; no disease or property; cannot read or write.	4 legitimate children; 1 dead			28
			(7) **l. m. A. B. X.** 10.	Died in 1855.							29
			(8) **l. f. A. B. X.** 38.	At 15, vagrant, c. jail, 2 d.; 15, married a German, and is conducting herself reputably.	⋈	**m. X.**	Cement burner; industrious; German; 1863, soldier.	2 legitimate girls			30 31
			(9) **l. f. A. B. X.** 13.	Died.							
			(10) **l. m. A. B. X.** 19.	A handsome boy; a loafer, who cares only for shooting and fishing, and lives with parents on the town; unmarried.							32
	(4) **l. f. A. B.** 65. Harlot; at 49, o. relief, 3 y.; 61, o. relief, 1 y.; nearly blind; has received much more o. relief, but it cannot be traced.	= **l. m. X.** Mason; excellent workman; idle; in middle life an habitual drunkard; deserted wife and children and took up with A. B.; thief, though never caught; trained his children to crime; father good family and well off; his brother swindled him out of his property; 1850, o. relief, 2 y.; 1852, died; town burial.	(1) **b. m. A. B. X.** 46.	At 10, stealing wood, arrested; 1834, bur., acquitted; 1870, murder, guilty, but acquitted; 1872, c. jail; 1874, o. relief, 1 y.	=	**f. X.**	Harlot.	2 bastard girls			33
			(2) **b. f. A. B. X.** 45.	Harlot; at 28, o. relief, 3 y.; 34, o. relief, 1 y.; 34, brothel, mob burns her house down; 35, p. house, 1 y.; 36, o. relief, 2 y.; 40, o. relief, 5 y.; 45, receiver of stolen goods, c. jail, 30 d.; married third cousin; contriver of crime.	=	**l. m. B. X.** 55.	Teamster; at 38, o. relief, 3 y.; 44, joined army; bought $800 house and lot with bounty, and made deeds over to wife; 45, o. relief, 2 y.; 50, o. relief, 5 y.; 55, c. jail, 90 d., charge of burglary, acquitted.	(1) **b. f. B. X. X.** 28. Harlot; 22, bastard girl; kept brothel. (2) **A. B. X. B. X.** 17. Harlot; 7, p. house, 1 y.; 13, harlot; 15, forced to thieve by mother; 17, c. jail, witness, 90 d.; house of refuge.	⋈ **m. X.** = **m. X.**	1 bastard girl; 1 legitimate girl 1 bastard child, dead.	34 35 36
			(3) **b. m. ... B. X.** 44.	Laborer; at 30, bur., 3d., S. Sing, 3 y.; 33, soldier; 40, o. relief, 1 y.; 41, att. rape, Alb. Pen., 1 y.; 42, o. relief, 1 y.; att. rape, Alb. Pen., 1 y.; 43 o. relief, 2 y.; 44, bur., 1st, S. Sing, 20 y.; syphilis.	=	**f. X.** 32.	Harlot; at 24, o. relief, 1 y.; has had 5 bastard children; 28, bastard girl; 29, o. relief, 4 y.; 32, c. jail; had one bastard girl while A. B. X. was in prison.	3 boys, 1 girl; 1 dead; boy 14, and girl 8, are in house of refuge. 1 boy bastard; 1 bastard girl.			37 38
	(5) **l. m. A. B.** 62. Mason; industrious; at 45, o. relief, 2 y.; 49, o. relief, 1 y.; occasionally intemperate; marriage between second cousins.	⋈ **l. f. D. X.** Opium habit; ignorant; temperate; 1858, o. relief, 2 y.; 1861, o. relief, 1 y.	(1) **l. m. A. B. D. X.** 38.	Mason; at 20, married; has acquired house and lot worth $2,000.	⋈	**f. X.**	Servant; seduced by her employer; had bastard before marriage.	Childless			39
			(2) **l. f. A. B. D. X.** 35.	Tailoress; industrious.	⋈	**l. m. X.** 37.	Teamster; good family; 23, murder, 4th S. S., 2 y.	1 girl			40
			(3) **l. f. A. B. D. X.** 28.	Tailoress; at 17, married; syphilis from husband; 24, syphilitic consumption; 25, o. relief, 3 y.; 28, died, 1874; industrious.	⋈	**m. X.**	Mason; 1853, c. jail; 1863, soldier; syphilis; married; 1870, drunk, c. jail, 2 d.; habitual drunkard; dead.	1 boy			41 42
			(4) **l. f. A. B. D. X.**	Tailoress; industrious.	⋈	**m. X.**	Mason.	Childless			43
			(5) **l. m. A. B. D. X.** 19.	Idle; unmarried.							44
			(6) **l. m. A. B. D. X.** 16.	Idle.							45
			(7) **l. m. A. B. D. X.**	Died, 1859; town burial.							
	(6) **l. f. A. B.** ... Harlot; 22, in 1852, p. house for debauchery.										46

Explanation:

⋈ ..... Married.
= ..... Cohabiting.
o. relief ... Out-door relief.
p. house... Poor house.
c. jail .... County jail.
bur. ..... Burglary.
S. Sing.... Sing Sing Prison.
Alb. Pen... Albany Penitentiary
S. p..... State prison.
p. lar..... Petit larceny.
y ..... Year.
m ..... Month.
d ..... Day.
l ..... Legitimate.
b ..... Bastard.
m ..... Male.
f ..... Female.

related by blood to the Jukes, and 169 by marriage or cohabitation ; in all, 709 persons of all ages, alive and dead. The aggregate of this lineage reaches, probably, 1,200 persons, but the dispersions that have occurred at different times have prevented the following up and enumeration of many of the lateral branches.

Consanguinity.—To distinguish those who are directly descended from these five sisters, they will be spoken of as belonging to the "Juke blood," because it is the line of their blood which has been traced, it being the most important as a study of heredity, the male lineage being considered subordinate. As the heredity of those who enter the family by marriage is, in most instances, uncertain, these persons will be spoken of generically as "the blood of X," or "the X blood." In order to trace the relationships more easily, the five sisters will be called, respectively, "Ada," "Bell," "Clara," "Delia," "Effie," the names beginning with the first five letters of the alphabet, which letter, in the text and appended charts, will be used instead of the full name. Individuals outside the line will be marked by an X.

The children resulting from any given marriage will contain all the letters which represent their ancestral derivation, each child being numbered according to the order of its birth as nearly as could be learned. Thus turning to chart I, facing page 15, in the first line in the column headed "generation three," you will find "(1) b. m. A. 70 × (6) l. f. B.," which would mean that the first child of Ada, a bastard male, age seventy at death, married the sixth legitimate female child of Bell, age unknown. Passing to the next generation we should get "(1) l. m. A. B. × f. X.," the first child, a legitimate male of A. and B., married a female whose antecedents are unknown. Passing down to the next generation we should get "(2) l. f. A. B. X. = (1) b. m. E. X. X.," which means the second child, a legitimate female, of A. B. and X., cohabits with the first child, an illegitimate male, of E. X. and X. Other abbreviations will be found explained on the charts.

TABLE II.

Second generation.	Third generation.	Fourth generation.	Fifth generation.	REMARKS.
Ada, harlot before marriage....	A. ⋈ B., no crime *.....	A. B. ⋈ X., crime.	A. B. X., crime	Preponderance of males, Bastard line.
		A. B. ⋈ D. X , reputable.	A. B. D. X., reputable	Semi-successful. ..... Bastard line.
	A. ⋈ C., no crime.	A. C. ⋈ B. C., no crime...	A. C. B. C., no crime.....	Legitimate. Preponderance of girls.
	A. ⋈ D., no crime . ..	A. D. ⋈ X., no crime....	No crime..	
	A. ⋈ X., no crime	A. X. ⋈ E. X , pauper.....	A. X. E. X., pauper.....	Legitimate. Distinctively pauper line.
Bell, harlot before marriage ...	B. ⋈ X., no crime.....	B. X. ⋈ X., reputable.....	Honest	Successful branch, Bastard line.
		B. X. ⋈ X., crime.....	B. X. X., crime.....	Criminal branch.. Bastard line.
	B. ⋈ C., no crime.....	B. C. ⋈ X , no crime.. ...	.....	Legitimate.
Clara, of good repute.....	C. ⋈ X., not traced	....	....	Legitimate. Not traced.
	Sec A. ⋈ C. and B. ⋈ C...	....	....	Legitimate.
Delia, harlot before marriage...	D ⋈ X., no crime	D. X. ⋈ X., crime	D. X. X., crime.....	Legitimate.
		D. X. ⋈ B. C., no crime..	D. X. B. C., no crime.....	Bastard line.
	E. = X *..	....	.. ..	Bastard line and barren.
Effie, reputation unknown.....	E. ⋈ X., no crime	E. X. ⋈ X., crime.....	Not traced.....	Legitimate.

* Explanation, ⋈ Married. = Cohabiting with.

CHART II. The Posterity of the Legitimate Children of Ada Juke.

GENERATION 2.	GENERATION 3.	GENERATION 4.	GENERATION 5.	GENERATION 6.	Lines.
Ada Juke. Harlot before marriage; not industrious; no property; o. relief in old age; temperate; not criminal; died 1867.	⚤ **m. X.** Laborer; lazy; no property; o. relief; healthy; temperate; thief; received thirty lashes for sheep stealing; died 1830.	(2) **l. m. A.** Farm laborer; indolent; licentious in youth; had syphilis before marriage; entalled it on his children; at 45, p. house, 1 y.; 53, p. house, 1 y.; marriage between cousins.	⚤ **l. f. C.** 71. Good reputation; died 1867.	(1) **l. f. A. C.** 59. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; weak minded; blind; ophthalmic gonorrhea; kept brothel; at 42, disorderly house, c. jail, 30 d.; intemperate; lazy.	⚤ **m. X.** Kept brothel; weak minded; intemperate; lazy; blind.	8 children, of whom 6 are dead.		1
						l. f. A. C. X.	Harlot; 1861, vagrant, c. jail 2 d.; has received o. relief, but no record of same been found; cannot read or write.		2
						l. f. A. C. X.	Harlot; at 17, p. house for vagrancy; probably child born; syphilis; cannot read and write.	= 1 **m. X.**	3
						l. m. A. C. X.	At 5, p. house, 1 y.; dead.		4
						(1) **l. m. A. C. B. C.** 31.	Laborer; industrious; no o. relief; temperate.	⚤ **f. X.**	5
						(2) **l. f. A. C. B. C.** 30.	Good repute; no o. relief; temperate; read and write.	⚤ **l. m. X.** Teamster; industrious; good citizen	6
						(3) **l. f. A. C. B. C.**	Harlot.		7
						(4) **l. f. A. C. B. C.** 25.	Good repute; no o. relief; temperate; no property; married her cousin.	⚤ (7) **b m B. C. X.** 21. No property; intemperate	8
						(5) **l. m. A. C. B. C.**	Unmarried.		9
						(6) **l. f. A. C. B. C.** 14.	Unmarried.		10
						4 boys, 3 girls; 4 legitimate, 3 bastard; 2 legitimate (1 boy and 1 girl); died very young; 2 bastard boys died, 1 at 14 months, 1 at 15 years.			11 12
						(3) **l. f. A. C. X.** 21.	Harlot; syphilis.	= **l. m. X.** Industrious; has had illegitimate child.	13
						(5) **b. f. A. C. X.** 20.	At 7, misdemeanor, c. jail; harlot before marriage; 18, p. house, mulatto child born; tried suicide twice; 19, married; in service; syphilis.	⚤ **b. m. X.** Canaller; not industrious; no property.	1 bastard boy, 1 bastard girl; the latter a mulatto; died of constitutional syphilis.
						3 children; 2 dead.			14
						l. m. A. C. X. 30.	Not traced.	⚤ **f. X.** 30.	15
						(1) **b. f. A. C. X.** 19.	Harlot.	4 children	16
						(2) **b. f. A. C. X.**	Harlot.		17
						(3) **b. f. A. C. X.** 12.	Said to have been born in p. house; was adopted out from there into a wealthy family, and is doing well.		18
						3 bastard boys; 3 bastard girls.			19
						(1) **b m. A. C. B. C.** 21.	Father and mother cousins; unmarried.		20
						(2) **b. f. A. C. X.**		1 child	21
						(3) **b. f. A. C. X.**		2 children; 1 dead.	22 23
						9 boys, 5 girls; all legitimate; 1 child dead; oldest, a girl, 14 years old.			
									24
									25
		(3) **l. m. A.** 78. Farm laborer; at 26, soldier, 1812-; somewhat industrious; acquired 14 acres of land; willed it to his children; temperate; had a bastard before marriage; received a U. S. pension; 1874, o. relief, 1 y.	⚤ **l. f. D.** 73. Industrious; temperate; good repute; healthy; at 73 died of old age in 1867; marriage between cousins.	(1) 3 still-born children.					26
				(2) **l. m. A. D.** 47. Laborer; industrious; at 26, had bastard boy by his cousin; owns 14 acres, house and cow; has acquired 5 acres.	⚤ **f. X.** Reputation good; disposition shrewish; poor housekeeper	2 legitimate boys; 0 girls legitimate; youngest child 4 years.		27
						(1) **l. f. A. D. X.** 19.	Married her cousin.	⚤ **b. m. X.**	28
						(2) **l. f. A. D. X.** 17.	Harlot; unmarried.		29
						(3) **l. f. A. D. X.** 14.	Harlot; unmarried.		30
						(4) **l. f. A. D. X.**		4 children	31
				⚤ **b. m. X.**	Dead.	(1) **b. m. A. D. X.** 15.		⚤ **m. X.**	32
				(5) **l. f. A. D.** 45. Harlot after marriage.	= **m. X.** 45. Laborer; at 30, bur., 30, S. Sing., 3½ y.	(2) **b. m. A. D. X.** 26.		⚤ **f. X.**	
				(6) **l. f. A. D.** 41. Insane tendency; husband beat her; assault and battery, c. jail, 90 d.; first husband killed morning; after marriage; at 36, melancholic; 41, suicide.	⚤ **m. X.** 53. Laborer; habitual drunkard; at 22, p. house, 1 y.	1 **m. A. D. X.** 26.			33
				(7) **l. m. A. D.**	⚤ (2) **l. f. D. X. B. C.** 37. At 27, o. relief, 2 y.; 37, o. relief, 1 y.; blind; married third cousin.	Childless.			34
		(4) **l. f. A.** Harlot; not industrious; healthy; temperate; 1855, p. house, 1 y.; child born; dead.	⚤ **m. X.** Laborer; mulatto; licentious; lazy; no property; 1830, c. jail; syphilis.	(1) **l. m. A. X.** Engineer; licentious; octoroon; 1840, o. relief, 1 y.; 1842, o. relief, 1 y.; 1844, o. relief, 1 y.; 1846, o. relief, 2 y.; 1853, assault, c. jail; 1862, o. relief, 1 y.; 1863, soldier; married second cousin.	⚤ (4) **l. f. E. X.** Harlot; kept brothel; temperate; lazy; acquired epilepsy; 1860, o. relief, 1 y.; 1842, o. relief, 1 y.; 1844, o. relief, 1 y.; 1846, o. relief, 2 y.; 1862, o. relief, 1 y.	(1) **l. f. E. X. A. X.** 36. Harlot; kept brothel; at 21, disorderly house, c. jail, 2 days; 29, o. relief, 2 y.; 33, o. relief, 1 y.; 1869, died.	⚤ **m. X.** At 23, o. relief, 2 y.; 27, o. relief, 1 y.; dead.	35
						(2) **b. f. E. X. X.** 33.		= **m. X.** Laborer; o. relief, 2 y.; German.	36
						(3) **l. m. E. X. A. X.** 31.	At 20, soldier; 22, o. relief, 3 y.; daughter buried; 25, daughter dead, town burial.	= (3) **l. f. E. X. X.** 23. Harlot; at 10, p. house, 1 y.; 18, o. relief, 5 y.; married cousin.	37
						(4) **l. m. E. X. A. X.**	1868, vagrant, c. jail, 2 days; 1870, o. relief, 2 y.	f. X. 1870, o. relief, 2 y.	38
						(5) **l. m. E. X. A. X.** 24.	No property; at 24, o. relief, 1 y.	f. X. 30. At 30, o. relief, 1 y.	39
						(6) **l. f. E. X. A. X.** 22.		m. X.	40
						(7) **b. f. E. X. X.** 21.	Harlot; dead.	m. X.	41
						(8) **l. m. E. X. A. X.**	Unmarried.		42
						(9) **l. m. E. X. A. X.**	Unmarried.		43
									44
				(2) **l. f. A. X.** Quadroon; 1846, o. relief, 2 y.; 1849, o. relief, 2 y.; syphilis; married second cousin; had one child; dead.	For husband and child, see Chart IV, Gen. 4 and 5, line 2.				45
				(3) **l. m. A. X.** 63. Quadroon; at 32, o. relief, 1 y.; 43, o. relief, 2 y.; 47, o. relief, 1 y.; 51, o. relief, 1 y.; 52, soldier, gets $1,000 bounty; lost; 55, o. relief, 1 y.; 57, vagrant, c. jail, 7 d.	⚤ (6) **l. f. E. X.** Harlot before marriage; one bastard son born by roadside; 1843, o. relief, 1 y.; 1853, o. relief, 2 y.; 1855, p. house, 1 y.; probably child born; 1858, o. relief, 1 y.; 1862, o. relief, 1 y.; 1866, o. relief, 1 y.; licentious and vagrant; married second cousin; dead.	(9) **l. f. A. X. E. X.** 34. Harlot; o. relief, 1 y.; syphilis.	46
						(4) **l. m. A. X. E. X.** 30.	Licentious; married cousin.	⚤ **l. f. X.** Harlot before marriage; had illegitimate child.	47
						(5) **l. m. A. X. E. X.** 25.	Licentious; o. relief, 1 y.	= **l. f. E. X. B. C.** Harlot; ran away from him; Catholic.	48
						(6) **l. m. A. X. E. X.** 20.	Very bad boy; single.		49
						(1) **b. m. E. X. X.** 46.	At 28, o. relief, 5 y.; 37, c. jail; 40, o. relief, 1 y.; 43, o. relief, 1 y.; habitual drunkard; owns lot and hut.	⚤ For wife and children, see Chart I, Gen. 5, lines 3 to 6.	50
				(9) **b. m. E. X. X.** 40.	Basket-maker; at 23, o. relief, 2 y.; 28, o. relief, 1 y.; 31, o. relief, 1 y.; 34, o. relief, 1 y.; 36, o. relief, 2 y.; temperate; acquired property.				51
						Childless.			52
						Childless.			53
						4 children.			54
				(4) **l. m. A. X.** Laborer; octoroon; 1835, p. house, 1 y.; lazy; licentious; intemperate.	⚤ **f. X.** Dead.				55
				(5) **l. f. A. X.** Octoroon.	= **f. X.** Harlot; syphilis.				56
				(6) **l. f. A. X.** Harlot; born 1822; at 35, widow with 4 children; o. relief, 2 y.; dead.	⚤ **b. m. X.** Mulatto. Husband unknown.				57
				(7) **l. m. A. X.** 46. Laborer; syphilis; licentious; lazy; at 2 p. house, 1 y.; 7, p. house, 1 y.; 46, o. relief, 1 y.; intemperate.	⚤ **f. X.** = **f. X.** Harlot; syphilis.	(1) **b. f. A. X. X.** 10. Dead.			58
				(8) **l. m. A. X.** At 1, p. house; died young.		(2) **b. f. A. X. X.** 9. Dead.			
				(9) **l. m. A. X.** 1835, born in p. house; fate unknown.					
	(5) **l. f. A.** Harlot; lazy; no property; temperate.	⚤ **m. X.** 50. Mulatto and a slave; laborer; no property; intemperate; at 50, died in 1850.		Barren.					59

Explanation:

⚤ ..... Married.
= ..... Cohabiting.
o. relief ... Out-door relief.
p. house ... Poor-house.
c. jail ..... County jail.
bur ..... Burglary.
S. Sing ... Sing Sing Prison.
Alb. Pen ... Albany Penitentiary
S. p ..... State prison.
y. ..... Year.
m. ..... Month.
d. ..... Day.

f. E. X. A. X. X. Harlot. = **m. X.** C. jail 34
b. **f. E. X. X. X.** 17. 16, harlot; sent to house of refuge for disorderly conduct. 35
5 bastard girls; 2 dead. 36
Children, 1 girl dead. 37
Childless. 38
Childless. 39
1 child. 40
1 girl, 8. 41
42
43
44
1 bastard boy. 45
(1) **b m. E. X. B. C. X.** 8. 46
(2) **l. m. A. X. E. X. E. X. B. C.** 5. 47
Childless. 48
49
50
3 children, legitimate. 51
52
53
54
55
56
57
58
59

In surveying the whole family, as it is mapped out in the charts accompanying this report, I find groups which may be considered distinctively industrious, distinctively criminal, distinctively pauper, and specifically diseased. These distinctions run along lines of descent so that you can follow them with distinctness from generation to generation, the breaks in the line at certain points indicating with great precision the modifying effects of disease, training, or fortuitous circumstance which have intervened and changed the current of the career.

A glance at table II, which epitomises, in a very general way, the details contained in the larger charts, shows these distinctions with measurable accuracy, and helps us to some conclusions :

1. That the lines of intermarriage of the Juke blood show a minimum of crime.

2. That, in the main, crime begins in the progeny where the Juke blood has married into X.

3. That the illegitimate branches have chiefly married into X.

4. That the illegitimate branches produced a preponderance of crime.

5. That the intermarried branches show a preponderance of pauperism.

6. That the intermarried branches show a preponderance of girls.

7. That the illegitimate branches produced a preponderance of males.

8. Lastly, the apparent anomaly presents itself, that the illegitimate criminal branches show collateral branches which are honest and industrious. When we come to the study of crime and honesty, and their relation to character and environment, we shall find some reasons for this apparent inconsistency.

Harlotry.—The distinctive tendency of the Juke family is displayed by the statistical exhibit herein presented ; for the most notable figures are those that relate to harlotry and bastardy.

In the following table all girls of 14 are included among the marriageable women, because there are at least two mothers under 15 years of age, one being only twelve. Under the heading of harlots are included all women who have made lapses, however seldom, and the term will be used to include cases of imprudence rather than lust, for experience teaches that many women who lapse are by no means lost, recovering themselves and leading subsequent reputable lives. The term harlot, in these pages will be used in this sense and also generically, including all degrees of impudicity, but will not be used synonymously with prostitute, which will always mean the extreme degree.

TABLE III.

Harlotry in the Juke blood.

	Gen. 2.	Gen. 3.	Gen. 4.	Gen. 5.	Gen. 6.	Totals.
Number of marriageable women.....	5	16	39	90	12	162
Number of harlots	3	6	27	44	4	84
Per centage of harlotry	60	37.24	69.23	48.88	38.33	52.40

The variations in the above percentages in the different generations are accounted for by the fact that all the sources of information have not been exhausted. In the second generation we have a very small basis for calculating percentages, while in the sixth generation the 12 girls are so young that the full percentage is not fully developed. A full account would, no doubt, make them approximate more nearly, increasing the percentage of harlotry for the total. How enormous it is, amounting to a distinctive social feature, is demonstrated on comparison with the average prostitution in cities, which has been estimated by good authorities as only 1.66 per cent, or one woman in every sixty. These figures are probably too low for harlotry in the community; supposing them to be 1.80 per cent, we find harlotry over twenty-nine times more frequent with the Juke women than in the average of the community.

Making a comparison between the women of the Juke and the X blood, we find:

Jukes: marriageable women, 162; harlots, 84; per centage, 52.40.

X blood: marriageable women, 67; harlots, 28; per centage, 41.76.

Having the figures that establish the sexual habits of the women of the Juke family and their accompanying tendency, we take up the question in its details. In the following study of licentiousness, the lives of the women have, by preference, been chosen, because the maternity is more easily established by testimony, is much more significant of the social condition of the whole class, and more profoundly affects the next generation.

Below is given a table in which the marriageable female posterity of Clara, who was chaste, are compared to the marriageable female posterity of Ada, a harlot, divided respectively as to the legitimate and illegitimate branches. In this table the children of Clara are divided into two classes — the first column being those who married into X; the second, the total number of her children, including those who intermarried with the children of Ada and Bell. The percentages show a progessive increase as you pass from left to right, the first column showing a lower percentage than that of the average of the Juke blood, the others increasing as you proceed to consanguineous marriages

of Clara's stock with the children of Ada and Bell, to the legitimate children of Ada, to the illegitimate children of Ada. From this point of view it would seem that chastity and profligacy are hereditary characteristics, possible of entailment.

TABLE No. IV.

Showing percentages of harlotry.

	Clara's, who have married outside the Ada and Bell lines.	Clara's, total number who have married into A and B.	Ada's legitimate.	Ada's illegitimate.	Average of Juke women as by Table III.
Number of marriageable women	18	64	36	20	
Unascertained	2	6	6	2	
Reputable	8	19	6	4	
Harlots before marriage	3	5	5	8	
Harlots after marriage	2	10	4	1	
Prostitutes	3	24	15	5	
Total harlots	8	39	24	14	
Percentage of harlots to marriageable	44.44	60.93	66.66	70	52.40

This table illustrates how pure statistics may lead into the error of supposing that a coincidence is a correlation, for the figures demonstrate the force of heredity, the chaste mother bearing a progeny more chaste than the unchaste mother, and the legitimate branch of the unchaste mother being more chaste than the illegitimate branch. To study out the causation, we go back to the elements, trace several of the most striking lines of harlotry, get elements which are not to be found in the table, because that gives only averages and conceals extremes which teach lessons that the mean does not give. We shall then see how far to modify first impression on closer analysis.

Case 1. Taking up the legitimate branch of Ada, which intermarried into Bell and Clara (chart II), we follow the heredity of legitimacy in lines six, eight and ten, generation five. They are three sisters, children of a legitimate father, B. C., and a chaste and legitimate mother, A. C., whose mother C. (gen. 3, following the mother's side) was a chaste and legitimate daughter of Clara, who was chaste. Going back to the father (gen. 4), we find his mother (gen. 3) was a chaste, legitimate daughter of Clara. Both parents, therefore, of generation four, were of chaste descent on the mother's side. Thus, the original characteristic of chastity seems to have descended from Clara through two branches, A. and B., and cumulated in the three sisters under consideration. Further; we find, in line seven, the sister of the above three

to be a prostitute, and in going back upon the heredity, we find in gen. 4 that the father's father was the licentious, though legitimate, son of Ada, a harlot, and on the mother's side (gen. 4), the father was the legitimate son of Bell, a harlot. According to the law of heredity, it is a logical deduction to make, that line seven has reverted to the ancestral types on the unchaste side of both parents. Respecting this case, very little reliable information has been gathered about the environment, but it must be noted that the mother in generation four was one of seven sisters, one of whom was idiotic, and no doubt licentious, and five others, harlots, one of them keeping a brothel; while, on the father's (see chart III, gen. 4, line 37), there was one sister who also kept a brothel. Whether this pair removed from the vicinity of their relations has not been learned, and what were the other particulars of their career are unknown. This case looks more like one of pure heredity than any that has been traced.

Case 2. Taking line 13, and following the heredity, we have (gen. 6) two illegitimate children of a white woman. One of them was a mulatto girl, who died at one year old of syphilis, whose mother (gen. 5) was a bastard harlot, afflicted with the same disease, whose mother (gen. 4) was a harlot afflicted likewise in the constitutional form, inherited from her licentious father, whose mother, Ada, was a harlot.

Now for the environment. The infant girl who died was conceived by the roadside, and born in the poor-house. Its mother (gen. 5) was a vagrant child, her mother having no home for her. So neglected was she, that at seven years, she was committed to the county jail for a misdemeanor. She was idle, disgustingly dirty, and for that reason could get no place as a servant, and as she must live, fell into the practice of prostitution. Her half-sister also had an illegitimate child, while other relations and acquaintances gave the example of profligacy. Her mother (gen. 4) was married twice — then cohabited with the man who became the father of this girl. When this man went to the war in 1863, he deserted her, and she followed the example of her other four prostitute sisters, one of whom kept a brothel. Going back to the father (gen. 3) we find him a soldier in the war of 1812, very licentious, whose two harlot sisters married mulattoes. As this was at a time when slavery existed in this State, the social condition under which this consorting took place is significant.

We have here an environment in three generations which corresponds to the heredity; this environment forming an example to the younger generation which must have been sufficient, without heredity, to stimulate licentious practices.

Case 3. Turning to the illegitimate branch of Ada (chart I), trace the heredity of legitimacy in lines 40 and 41 (gen. 6), two girls who are legitimate, whose mothers (gen. 5) were sisters, chaste and legitimate, whose father and mother (gen. 4) were legitimate and chaste, whose mother (gen. 3, following the father's side) was legitimate and chaste, whose mother was Ada, a harlot. Following the mother's side (gen. 4), her mother was a legitimate child of Delia, a harlot. Here the heredity seems not entailed.

Now for the environment. The three sisters of generation 5 are industrious women, who worked at tailoring, and are described by their employer as always reliable, and doing their work by the time promised. The oldest brother, who is a mason, has amassed some $2,000 at his trade, which he has invested in a house and lot. He is steady and industrious. Going back to generation 3, we find the father a mason, tolerably industrious, who separated himself from his brothers and sisters, the sum total of whose environment may be thus expressed: Three sisters and one sister-in-law, prostitutes, and the other sister-in-law a brothel keeper; of the four men, one brother kept a brothel, the other was a quarrelsome drunkard, one brother-in-law was an habitual thief, who trained his sons to crime, another served two years in State prison for forgery. This pair thus measurably protected themselves and their progeny from the environment of eight contaminating persons, all immediate relations, whose lives were, with few exceptions, quite profligate. Going back to generation 3, we have no account of the environment, save that there was no prostitution, while at the head of the line, we again end with Ada on one branch and Bell on the other.

In this case we again note that, in the fourth and fifth generations, while the heredity is mainly of the type of chastity, the environment has also been favorable to the same habits, but in generation 3 the characteristics of harlotry in Ada and Bell are not reproduced as we might expect if heredity were the controlling element in determining the career. If the history of the environment of that generation could only be obtained, it would, perhaps, explain the interruption in the entailment.

Case 4. Taking line 34, we have (gen. 7) an illegitimate child, whose mother (gen. 6) was a harlot, whose mother (gen. 5) was a bastard harlot, whose mother (gen. 4) was a harlot, whose father (gen. 3) was a bastard son of Ada, a harlot, while his wife (gen. 3) was the legitimate daughter of Bell, a harlot. Going back and following up from the father in generation 4, we find his father the illegitimate son of Bell.

Parallel to this we lay the story of the environment. The mother of this child in the seventh generation is the daughter of a prostitute, who

kept a brothel when that daughter was only ten years old. It is stated by one of the poormasters that, upon one occasion, the daughter applied to him for out-door relief to maintain the above child. She made a charge of bastardy against a certain man, whom the poormaster was called upon, in virtue of his office, to prosecute for the maintenance of the child. The case was lost, and after the trial was over in the magistrate's office, the male witnesses adjourned to a neighboring bar-room. In this bar-room, and for a few dollars, the mother caused her daughter to retract the story publicly. Going back to the fourth generation, the testimony as to environment is not so complete, only that the father was dissolute, and that the example of the other sisters no doubt had an influence in blunting the sense of purity, while, in the two generations further back, the testimony is not sufficiently definite for the purposes of the present argument.

Here, again, environment is in the line of heredity.

Case 5. The most striking case of all is line 23, for in it we find bastardy in every link but one. In generation 7 is found an illegitimate girl six years old, whose mother (gen. 6) was an illegitimate harlot, whose mother (gen. 5) was a harlot, whose mother (gen. 4) was illegitimate, married to a husband (gen. 4) whose father (gen. 3) was illegitimate, whose mother was Ada, a harlot.

The environment in this case stands thus: The child is the offspring of an incestuous relation between her mother when only fourteen, with her own uncle, who had served two terms in State prison, thus showing the influence of her surroundings. The mother (gen. 5) kept a brothel, and it was no doubt within its atmosphere that the girl was contaminated. Going back to generation 4 we find the parents keep a low dram-shop, which also serves, on occasion, as a house of assignation. As in the other cases there is no environment traced beyond.

In this again the environment runs parallel to the heredity.

Case 6. Now we take a quite different case, where the heredity and the environment have coincided up to a certain age, and yet the career of harlotry has not been run. Follow line 30 to generation 5, is a girl, the sister of the woman in case 5, mentioned above, who kept a brothel and whose heredity has been traced. Substantially, the environment was the same as that of her two sisters who were both prostitutes. How closely she followed them up to her fifteenth year is shown by the fact that in 1861 we find her, together with her sister, arrested for vagrancy and locked up in the county jail for two days. At this point, however, the environment changes. She marries a German, a cement burner, a steady, industrious, plodding man, settles down into a home, brings legitimate children into the world and takes the position of a reputable woman.

In this case it is plain that the change in the environment has supplanted the tendency of the heredity. The case now is to be watched to see if, in spite of the environment of a reputable home, the daughter of this woman, now 12 years of age, will revert to the ancestral characteristics, and change what now seems to be an argument in favor of the poteney of environment into an argument proving the prepotency of heredity.

If prostitution were merely a private vice, confined to the individual practicing it, there would be no special reason for its becoming a question for the investigation of this association. But the bearing which the subject has upon the increase and perpetuation of crime arises from the fact that it leads to neglected and miseducated childhood, which develops adults without sense of moral obligation, without self-respect, and without a proper desire for the approbation of reputable people. Such children, beginning life as vagrants soon become theives, are returned again and again to the county jail where they go into training for heavier operations in crime, and finally graduate as experts, who become leaders in their turn, indoctrinating a new generation, born, bred and trained under the same conditions as themselves.

Looking over the aggregate of harlots numbering 84, we find 18 of them subsequently married. Inasmuch as in this 84 are included a number of girls under 20, some of whom will yet marry, it would be fair to estimate at 22 the number who will marry and avoid a prostitute career, which would be 26.19 per cent of the whole number of harlots, or over one-fourth, and this, apparently in the face of the force of heredity. In view of this it is safe to say that the tendency of marriage is to extinguish prostitution. When we take into consideration case 6, line 30, who became a reputable wife in spite of her heredity and of her environment by simply being married at 15 years of age, the question presents itself whether early marriage among the class we are studying, is not the spontaneous and, therefore, most efficient means of reducing the crop of criminals and paupers.

Passing to a comparison of harlotry to pauperism and crime, we find as respects pauperism: 1st. That of males receiving out-door relief there are over 20 per cent, of females a little under 13 per cent; receiving alms-house relief, males nearly 13 per cent, females $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent; thus there is a preponderence of males helped by charity (see table VI). 2d. A glance at the charts will show that in the majority of cases the women receiving out-door relief, being married, merely follow the condition of their husbands. 3d. Where the women are single a large proportion of them get assistance during the child-bearing period, and only then. 4th. A number who have become widows have ceased to get relief and simultaneously taken to harlotry. Thus, although the rate of wages of women is much below that of men, the application for

charity is much more frequent among the men. On examination it will be seen that, in families where the brothers are receiving relief and the sisters are not married, those sisters are many of them prostitutes.

As to crime (see table IX), we find that while there are 34 male offenders, many of them committing very high crimes, there are only 16 females, and they committed misdemeanors in all cases but one. But upon the other hand, if you look at the families in which crime is found, there, where the brothers commit crime, the sisters adopt prostitution, the fines and imprisonment of the women being not for violations of the rights of property, but mainly for offenses against public decency. The explanation is, perhaps, that the tendency of human beings is to obtain their living in the direction of least resistance according to their own views as to what that direction is, and as that direction for men of this class seems to them to be either in pauperism or in crime, the brothers entered these *vocations*. The sisters finding in prostitution a more lucrative career than pauperism, and a more safe and easy one than crime, thus avoid both in a measurable degree. Taking the illegitimate branch of Ada where prostitution is 29 times greater than in the general community, we also find that crime among the men is 30 times greater. Taking into further consideration that the women find indulgences in a career of harlotry which their brothers can only obtain by purchase with the proceeds of theft, it is a fair inference to make that prostitution in the women is the analogue of crime and pauperism in the males, the difference in the career being only an accident of sex. The identity of the three, as distributed between the sexes, is established by finding that in this family they have a common origin, an equal ratio, and yield to the same general reformatory treatment — steady, continuous and fatigue-producing labor.

From the consideration of the special cases detailed, we now come to formulating a few preliminary inductions on the subject.

1. Harlotry may become a hereditary characteristic, and be perpetuated without any specially favoring environment to call it into activity. (See case 1.)

2. In most cases the heredity is also accompanied by an environment which runs parallel to it, the two conditions giving cumulative force to a career of debauch.

3. Where there is chastity in the heredity, the same is also accompanied by an environment favorable to such habits.

4. Where the heredity and the environment are in the direction of harlotry, if the environment be changed at a sufficiently early period, the career of prostitution may be arrested and the sexual habits amended. (See case 6.)

5. That early marriage tends to extinguish harlotry.

6. That prostitution in the woman is the analogue of crime and pauperism in the man.

7. As a corollary of this last, a practical rule may be laid down to help us estimate the chances of reforming a boy who has committed his first offense. If his elder sisters are reputable, his chances are good; but if they be not reputable, the chances of his becoming an habitual criminal are increased proportionately.

Illegitimacy.—Where harlotry rather than prostitution is common, it is to be expected that the number of illegitimate children will be numerous. Of the 535 children born 335 were legitimate, 106 were illegitimate and 84 were unknown. Discarding from the computation the 84 who are not ascertained, we get 23.50 per cent as the proportion of illegitimacy, counting both sexes.

TABLE V.

Illegitimacy.

	Boys.	Girls.
Total number of children	224	251
Of legitimate birth	155	190
Of illegitimate birth	49	33
Per cent of bastards to total number, by sex	21.42	13.22
Per cent of bastards to legitimates, by sex	33.61	17.36
Per cent of bastards to total number, both sexes	23.50	

The above table shows an excess of girls over boys among the legitimate, while there is an excess of boys over girls among the illegitimate, and, when we compare them by percentages, the illegitimate boys are twice as numerous as the girls.

If the object of our inquiry rested here, and a generalization upon the above figures were made, based on the conventional and generally accepted effects of illegitimacy on the question of crime and pauperism, the conclusion would be inevitable that the above figures explain the cause of pauperism and crime. The facts being at hand, it is perhaps safer to enter into a more minute inquiry.

Passing from the consideration of aggregate numbers, we analyze particular cases.

Of the five Juke sisters, three are known to have had illegitimate children, Ada, Bell and Delia.

The two bastards of Delia were lazy ne'er-do-weels, who never married, and are not known to have had children; but little has been gathered respecting them. Of her legitimate children, one, a girl, was the mother of criminals, and is the only line in the legitimate branches in which crime is found.

Of the children of Ada (see charts I and II) the oldest was the father of the distinctively criminal branch of the family. Two of his sons,

though never sent to prison, were notorious petty thieves and the fathers of convicted criminals, while two of their daughters were the mothers of criminals. None of the legitimate children or grandchildren of Ada are known to have been criminals.

But while the children and grandchildren of Ada's oldest were criminals, the majority of them were legitimate. Thus we find forty legitimates and five illegitimates among the descendants.

Of the children of Bell (see chart III, generation 3), the first four were illegitimate, three of them mulattoes. The three boys were, on the whole, more successful in life than the average of the Juke family. They all three acquired property, the youngest being the father of one child who was successful in life, also accumulating property. Of the oldest, a mulatto, a gentleman who knew all the earlier members of the Juke family, says: "He was the best of his generation, being honest, sober, and in every way manly." On the other hand, chart IV, which gives one branch of the posterity of Effie, almost all of whom are legitimate, shows a widespread and almost unbroken record of pauperism.

From these considerations, and others, which are not stated in the review of individual cases because they are only repetitions of cases which are related elsewhere, it follows that illegitimacy is not necessarily the cause of crime and pauperism.

Preliminary Inductions.—1. Among the first-born children of lawful marriages, the female sex preponderates.

2. Among the first-born bastard children, the males preponderate.

3. It is not illegitimacy, *per se*, which is dangerous, but the environment of neglect which attends it that is mischievous.

4. Illegitimates who are placed in favorable environment may succeed in life better than legitimate children in the same environment.

Disease and Pauperism.—Running alongside of licentiousness, and as inseparable from it as is illegitimacy, are the diseases which are distinctive of it, and which produce social phenomena which are the direct subjects of the present investigation. In the wake of disease follows pauperism, so in studying the one we must necessarily discuss the other. But disease treats of physiological states, it is a biological question; therefore, the social questions included in the consideration of pauperism rest, in large measure, upon the data furnished by the study of vital force.

Before taking up the statistics of disease, we give those of pauperism to show the general tendency of the family to pauperism, before we study the causes that produce that condition.

Comparing, by sexes, the alms-house relief of the State at large with

TABLE No. VI.

Of Pauperism, showing Out-door* and Alms-house Relief.

	Number of persons receiving out-door relief.	Number of years.	Estimated cost at $15 a year.	Number of persons receiving alms-house relief.	Number of years.	Estimated cost at $100 a year.	Total number of persons.	Per centage receiving out-door relief.	Per centage receiving alms-house relief.	Per centage of alms-house pauperism, male, female, and total for New York State in 1871.	Ratio between pauperism of State at large and the Juke family.
Women of the Juke blood	45	242	$3,630	24	35	$3 500	251	13.94	9.56	1.26	As 1 to 7.590
Men of the Juke blood	50	270	4,050	29	46	4,600	224	20.09	12.94	1.39	As 1 to 9.309
Women of the X blood	20	125	1,875	5	7	700	67	29.85	7.44	1.26	As 1 to 5.900
Men of the X blood	27	97	1,455	6	8	800	102	26.56	5.88	1.39	As 1 to 4.239
Total number of Juke blood	95	512	$7,680	53	81	$8,100	540	17.59	9.80	1.33	As 1 to 7.368
Total number of X blood	47	222	3,330	11	15	1,500	169	27.81	6.51	1.33	As 1 to 4.893
Grand total	142	734	$11,080	64	96	$9,600	709	20.02	9.02	1.33	As 1 to 6.767

* The out-door relief is dispensed by eight poormasters, who live in four different towns, each town keeping a separate record of names and amounts of help. These records, since the beginning of this century, amount to an aggregate of 225 years, of which only sixty-four years could be consulted, the records of the 191 missing years being in most cases destroyed.

This table exhibits only the amount of relief which this family has obtained as shown by the records.

that of the Jukes, we find seven and a-half times more pauperism among the Juke women than among the average of women for the State, the Juke men are over nine times more numerous, while the average for both sexes of the Juke and X blood mixed gives six and three-quarter times more paupers than the average of the State. According to the records of poor-houses and city alms-houses, the men are in excess of the women, the ratio for 1871 being as 100 women is to 110 men; of the Jukes this ratio is as 100 to 123, but when we look at the alms-house relief of the X blood the ratio is inverted, the women being to the men as 100 is to 79. Thus, while the Jukes follow the general law of pauperism as respects the ratio of the sexes, the X blood shows a reverse one. Why this is I cannot say, unless it be that the tendency of the women is to follow the condition of their husbands, which involves the women marrying into the Juke pauper stock in the net of pauperism, while the Juke women, seeking and finding husbands not so involved, are thus withdrawn from the pauper circle. That this inversion of ratios is not an accident is proved by the fact that the out-door relief shows the same relationship, though in a less degree, the ratio being as 85 women are to 100 men.

We now take up the question of diseases, malformations and injuries, in their relations to pauperism, first presenting the general statistics in table VII. In this table the children who have died of diseases inherited from their parents, and who were buried by the town, are not included, because such children have no significance as causes of pauperism, their early death placing them in the category of effects of disease and pauperism, nor is there any person counted twice.

TABLE VII.

Table of Diseases, Malformations and Injuries.

	Blind.	Deaf and Dumb.	Insane.	Idiotic.	Tubercular consumption.	Syphilis.	Constitutional syphilis.	Epilepsy.	Deformed.	Total number injured, deformed and diseased.	Number diseased persons receiving relief.	Percentage.
Juke blood.....	10	....	1	1	1	29	22	....	1	65	33	50.77
X blood..... ..	1	1	....	....	1	13	3	1	....	20	15	75.00
Total	11	1	1	1	2	42	25	1	1	85	48	56.47

Notice here, while the per centage of pauperism for the whole family is only 22.22 per cent, the per centage of pamperism among the sick and disabled is 56.47 per cent. In one case, the hereditary blindness of one man cost the town twenty-three years of out-door relief for two people

and a town burial. Another case of hereditary blindness cost eight years of out-door and three years of poor-house relief, with a town burial.

But the disease which the above table shows as the most common, as it is by all odds the most destructive and the most subtle and impossible to eradicate, is syphilis. Here, again, we test the value of aggregate statistics as an index of a social tendency.

In this exhibit are enumerated only the cases properly vouched for by competent physicians, or so notorious as to be widely known, or directly drawn from the records of the poor-house.* Here we find the proportion of those blighted by it reaches 10.86 per cent, but this per centage does not include half of the victims of this class of disorders. On the authority of physicians who know, from twenty-five to thirty per cent are tainted with this disease.

Significant as these figures are when looked at in the aggregate, they are weak as compared to the lesson which is pointed when we analyze the lines along which this disease runs, and note its devastation of individual careers and its pauperizing influence on successions of generations. If it were merely the record of so many human beings who have simply died it would lose most of its significance; but in view that this is the record of so many who have lived maimed lives, maimed in numberless ways; entailing maimed lives full of weakness, which is wretchedness; sapping the vitality of innocent ones to the third and fourth generations in a constantly broadening stream, and breeding complex social disorders growing out of these physiological degenerations, the question grows into larger and more momentous proportions the more minutely we look into it.

Case 7. Chart II, generation four, line twenty-four, is an idiot girl tainted with constitutional syphilis, all her sisters being likewise affected. This was the legacy of a licentious father who contracted the disease before marriage, in the war of 1812, in which he was a volunteer. At the age of eight she drifted into the poor-house, remained eight years an inmate, and whether she was removed or died the imperfect records do not show. She is probably dead. Her father was an inmate of the same alms-house twice, at the age of forty-five and again at fifty-two.

This is a case of absolute hereditary pauperism, the pauper condition depending on absence of intellectual power, the direct effect of physical disease. Here, the relation between mind and social condition is sharply defined, for idiocy has been described as "arrest of development,"† chiefly of the brain and of the nervous system, brought about by diverse

* Of these latter not more than six have been accepted.

† Idiocy, etc., Edward Seguin, N. Y., 1866, p. 40.

causes, the most frequent of which is scrofulous or syphilitic disease in the parents. In this we trace the direct connection between a social degradation, alms-house pauperism, and a physiological degeneration the effect of insufficient nutrition, caused by syphilitic virus,* during the ante-natal life of an infant.

Case 8. Line three gives another case of alms-house pauperism in the same family, two removes from the grandfather, whose licentiousness is the original cause of this social condition. This girl (fifth generation) is born of a mother tainted so deeply with constitutional syphilis that she is weak minded and blind; six out of eight of her children dying young, and the vitality of the surviving two girls being impaired. Here we trace the heredity of disease directly, and here also foot-prints of pauperism following it, a generation having been skipped, that overleaped generation being in the line of the oldest child.

But if we trace the environment, we find the parents of this girl keep a brothel, so at seventeen she finds herself sent to the poor-house as a vagrant, probably for walking the streets pursuing her calling. Here the environment has been in the direction of the heredity, and contributive to that career, causing the predestined granddaughter to revert substantially to the social condition of the grandfather — pauperism.

Case 9. Line 13 in the same family has been given before † in considering harlotry, but we now look at it as a question of pauperism. She is an infant mulatto girl, conceived by the roadside, born in a poor-house and killed by syphilis before reaching her first year. As a matter of course, the mother (generation 5) was similarly affected. Thus the granddaughter prepares for her child the same general condition which her grandfather produced for his idiotic daughter, as detailed in case 7, premature death, coupled with alms-house life. Going back along the same line to generation 4, we find other forms of disease linked to pauperism. The mother, affected with constitutional syphilis, is married first to one husband who dies at forty in the poor-house, of consumption. For at least three years before his death (for the records previous to this time could not be obtained) she, at thirty-one, and her husband, at thirty-eight, received out-door relief. The second husband also dies of consumption, but in some other town, so that it has been impossible to get the poor-master's record. We have of this generation three of the Juke blood who find a home in the alms-house. Tracing back to the third generation, we find the syphilitic father, at forty-five, in the same place, and again later at fifty-two. The year and cause of his death have not been ascertained, so this example is incomplete, but these

* Seguin, pp. 40, 41. † Case 2.

preliminary conclusions may be educed: Disease, which may be called the social equivalent of weakness, in the third, fourth and sixth generations; and youth, another social equivalent of weakness, in the fourth generation, have brought with them the call for public charity, the acknowledgment of inefficiency.

In this case there is nothing which might be distinctively called hereditary pauperism, but there is obviously a condition that might easily become so were it not that death inexorably closes the career.

Case 10. Line eighteen is a girl twelve years old. She is illegitimate, her mother being a prostitute with her constitution broken by syphilis. Eleven years ago her mother died and she was sent to the poor-house. From thence she was adopted by a lady of wealth and is looked upon by some of her relations as having a brilliant future. Here again we find disease bringing with it death to the mother, pauperism to the child. But in this case it is at a second remove. This again is a case of weakness, its form youth.

It would extend this report to wearisome and unnecessary length to give every case. Suffice it that other cases can be found upon the charts by tracing the lines and studying them out.

So far we have looked only at instances where disease and pauperism are immediately related. We now turn to another class of cases, where they are less direct, but not less significant.

Case 11. Taking (1) b. m. A., generation three, chart I, and passing to the first child, line one, of the next generation, we find a man whose wife died of syphilis when he was fifty-three. At that age he had become an habitual drunkard, and, although a good workman, became idle. He obtained out-door relief about that time, and since then, for twenty years, has been a charge upon the town, but he has never been in the poor-house. On the death of the mother, the fourth child aged fourteen, the fifth aged twelve, the sixth aged eight, the seventh aged seven, the eighth aged four, and the ninth child aged two years were sent to the poor-house, and there remained four years. Two years after the mother's death, the third child goes to the poor-house at seventeen, and is immediately bound out to a farmer, while the two eldest, being respectively twenty-four and twenty-nine, are not sent. Here again we find youth, which is the social equivalent of weakness, consigns the child to the influence of the poor-house, while the elder escape it by reason of their strength. In this case, the death of the mother by disease induces pauperism in the offspring. Here the first instance of the tendency of the youngest child to be pauper of the family is presented. I add to it others further on.

Case 12. The second child (l. f., A. B.), a girl, seems to be an exception to the rule laid down, for we find her, seven years before her mother's death, and at the age of eighteen, one month in the poor-house, to bring her first-born, an illegitimate boy, into the world. Here the maternal functions produces the social equivalent of weakness, which is the essential of pauperism.

Case 13. This is similar in some aspects to case 11. In chart II, generation 3, (4) l. f., A., we find a legitimate daughter who marries a mulatto X. For some reason which has not been learned, the father ceases to maintain his family. The mother, near her confinement, with no relations to volunteer the expense of her sickness, becomes an inmate of the poor-house, with the three youngest children, at which place the fourth child is born. Comparing the children of the fourth generation, we find the older ones escape the influence of the poor-house at this time, no doubt because their strength enabled them to support themselves.

Here, again, we find weakness makes the pauper, the children because of youth, the mother because of inability to earn bread for a large family, which is a social equivalent of weakness.

At this point it is perhaps as well to notice that cases 11 and 13 illustrate that the tendency of the youngest child is to become the pauper of the family. But we get more than an illustration of this fact; we obtain data which helps to explain why it is so. The child who is born in the poor-house, especially if a girl, stands a very fair chance of remaining there till 10 or 14 years of age, before anybody thinks it worth while to adopt her, as she is of no use before that age. She has then formed an affection for the place, its people, and its habits, and when the prime of life is passed, and she begins to feel the weakness of decline, the traditions of youth return, having prepared her to end her days where she began them. The older children, not having any such remembrance, are less likely to resign themselves to it.

We now take up a different class of cases, to show that the tendency of the youngest is to be the pauper of the family, adding another form of proof to establish that proposition.

Case 14. Chart I, children of the eldest born of generation third compared to each other. The first born in generation 4 begins his claim for outside relief at 53, his next brother at 36, and the youngest born boy at 46, indicating a power of resistance greater in the first born than in the last. The only child of this generation who enters the poor-house is a girl, and she is the youngest child, who gets committed for debauchery.

That the youngest boy resists better than the third is owing, probably, to his having married a wife who was healthy and somewhat industrious, the wife of the eldest brother being fat and syphilitic, becoming a burden upon him by reason of disease, conditions contributive to discouragement of home affections and to the exertion for its maintenance which those motives arouse.

Case 15. Passing to chart III, and comparing the eight children of Bell, the first four of whom are illegitimate, we find the fourth and the eighth child are inclined to pauperism. This seems to contradict the rule that the youngest is the pauper of the family, but we must take into consideration that the fifth child is the son of a legitimate marriage, and may probably be the first child of his father, so that the continuity of the line is broken and gives us two sets of examples in the children of the same mother. The eldest children of each set are self-supporting and independent, the illegitimates being the most so.

Now, comparing the age at which the out-door relief begins, we find the fourth child applies at 66, three years before his death, when he receives a town burial, while the youngest applies at 55, and receives outside relief for 23 years, when his career closes with a town burial. The fourth son acquired a farm of 60 acres, was industrious but rough, and intemperate in his older days. His farm was lost, and he died prematurely. The eighth son never acquired property, was temperate, but blind for many years with cataract and died of old age.

In both these cases we find the social equivalent of weakness, intemperance and blindness, both physiological conditions predisposing to pauperism, but there is no alms-house relief.

Case 16. Passing to the children of the fourth child of Bell (gen. 4, lines 4 to 14) we find the oldest son (line 4) independent, industrious and prosperous. The second (line 5) receives out-door relief from 65 to his death, the sixth (line 13) getting it at 38, and the seventh, a girl, at 30, entering the poor-house at 40 with her two children.

Here the same tendency is to be found as in other cases indicated.

Case 17. Now we turn to chart IV; analyzing the progeny of Effie. In the third generation we have traced only two persons, a son and daughter. The son, in his 87th year, entered the poor-house and died there in 1859, aged 90. The daughter married into X, who, at the age of 40, became an inmate of the poor-house for a short time. The next account we have of him is that at 80 he was again in the poor-house, where he died the following year; the record of out-door relief which he received being among the years which could not be obtained.

Taking the next generation of this daughter, and comparing her male children, we find the first boy, aged 64, gets out-door relief at 30, the second at 22, the third at 24, the fifth at 24. If we take the age of entering the poor-house we get first child 56; second, 47; third, 23; fourth, 42; the discrepancies are owing partly to the records being imperfect and to the better character of the wives.

Line 1, generation 5, chart IV, presents an exception to the general rule, the man in this case being the eldest of the family. The consideration of this is postponed till we enter on the relation of pauperism to crime, for this seeming exception brings into relief other relations which can be best appreciated when we have discussed the question of crime.

Case 18. Now we take up the question of the heredity of pauperism, for the line of Effie is distinctively pauperized. Taking lines 8 to 13; inclusive, we find, in generation 5, six children in the poor-house; going back to the next generation, father in poor-house; going back to generation 3 again we find the poor-house. Such is the heredity.

The environment of the fifth generation at the time they entered the poor-house was, that the father was serving a term in the county jail for breach of peace; the support of the family was gone, with the result noted. The environment beyond this is not known.

In summing up this branch of the inquiry the following preliminary inductions may be stated as the laws of pauperism which are applicable to the case in hand, and may, upon a broader basis of facts, prove to be general laws applicable to pauperism in general:

1. Pauperism is an indication of weakness at some essential point, either youth, disease, old age, injury; or, for women, childbirth.

2. It rests chiefly upon disease in some form, tends to terminate in extinction, and may be called the sociological aspect of physical degeneration.

3. The debility and diseases which enter most largely in the production of pauperism are the result of sexual licentiousness.

4. The different degrees of adult pauperism, in the main, indicate gradations of waning vitality. In this light the whole question is opened up, whether indolence, which the dogmatic aphorism says "is the root of all evil," is not, after all, a mark of undervitalization and an effect which acts only as a secondary cause.

5. Pauperism in adult age, especially in the meridian of life, indicates a hereditary tendency which may or may not be modified by the environment.

6. Pauperism follows men more frequently than women, indicating a decided tendency to hereditary pauperism.

7. The pauperism of childhood is an accident of life rather than a hereditary characteristic.

8. The youngest child has a tendency to become the pauper of the family.

9. That the youngest children are more likely than the older ones, to become the inmates of the poor-house through the misconduct or misfortune of parents.

10. That such younger children, who remain inmates of the almshouse long enough to form associations that live in the memory and habits that continue in the conduct, have a greater tendency to spontaneously revert to that condition whenever any emergency of life overtakes them, and domesticate there more readily than older children whose greater strength has kept them out during youth.

11. The children old enough to provide for themselves are forced by necessity to rely upon themselves, and in consequence are less liable to become paupers in old age.

In consideration of the last two propositions, which relate to environment, and show how great an influence it has on determining the career, is added a twelfth proposition, which is dogmatically put forth, though not fully sustained by the facts enumerated in the present study.

12. That pauperism, which depends on social and educational disabilities and not upon deep-seated constitutional disease, can and must be prevented by sound and felicitous measures of administration that will conform to modes of dealing with it spontaneously adopted by society, and, for that reason, as generally acceptable as they will prove efficacious.

Intemperance.—It may be said, "You have treated of crime and of pauperism and yet have said nothing whatever about the one great and conspicuous cause of both, intemperance."

The answer to this is, that the importance of intemperance as a factor in crime and pauperism is not denied, and that in the investigation it received a place in the inquiries which were to be made about the careers of each individual. But there were certain considerations which made me hesitate to accept the current opinions as to the part which ardent spirits plays in the carnival of crime. The temperance agitation has for many years taken a partisan character and become an "element of politics," with this inevitable result, that the discussion of the subject has been shifted from the domain of dispassionate observation into that of sentimental agitation, the conclusions arrived at being of the nature of hasty deductions from cherished opinions, and equally hasty or equally erroneous inductions from irrelevant facts. In visiting the jails it was not unfrequent for a criminal to call me into a corner, and, in a semi-confidential tone, ask whether I wished to know what was the cause of the prisoner's

duress. As this was a main object for making visits to the jails an affirmative answer was given, when, with great gravity, the axiom was propounded, "It wasn't me, it was rum did it." In other words, gin was the responsible Blue Beard who held the key to the secret cabinet of assassination.

Thus it happened that while the current opinions could not be accepted, because they gave no adequate reason for the phenomena, and because they neglected to give many phenomena that might be fatal to the theory of the agency of rum in the drama, other explanations presented themselves as indicating a more correct conception.

It is remembered that the value of the present inquiry rests on the method of viewing the career of individuals and of recording the facts of each life in chronological order. Applying this to the solution of the intemperance question we have several cases in point. First, however, we present the aggregate figures, meagre as they are, before going to the special cases.

TABLE VIII.

Comparing temperance and intemperance.

	Healthy.	Diseased.	Licentious.	Chaste.	Licentious previous to.	Diseased previous to.	Total.
Temperate	18	1	7	....	....	....	26
Intemperate	3	10	29	....	3	....	45

In this table most of those who are marked healthy are not licentious. The table is unsatisfactory, because the information which has been furnished on the subject of intemperance has been much less full than on other points, and the order of time in which licentiousness and disease have taken place as related to drunkenness has not been given.*

Of the three who were licentious before they became intemperate, the following particulars:

Take chart III, generation 3, line 4, and we have (4) b. m. B. He was industrious in early life, accumulated property, was of a tough, coarse-grained temperament, and in his youth licentious. He is not known ever to have been a criminal, but he did become a drunkard in middle life, lost his property, and died of premature old age, at 69, receiving a town burial.

In this case we find licentiousness in youth, drunkenness when the meridian of life is passed, premature death.

*In the report of examination of convicts at Sing Sing and Auburn, which I made in 1875, will be found fuller details respecting this subject.

Chart I, line 41, generation 5, we have a man, m. X, who was licentious in his youth, who had contracted syphilis, and who, on the decline of life, was a sot, and hastened his death by his excesses in drink. The same general course as the last case, licentiousness, intemperance, premature death.

Chart I, line 27, generation 5, a woman (5), l. f. A. B. X, who began prostitution at an early age; at 25 was a drunkard. She then joined the church; shortly after, she married and left off her licentious habits. She is now reported as being less given to drunkenness than she was ten years ago.

The law shadowed forth by this scanty evidence is that licentiousness has preceded the use of ardent spirits and caused a physical exhaustion that made stimulants grateful. In other words, that intemperance itself is only a secondary cause. It is more than probable that a fuller investigation will show that certain diseases and mental disorders precede the appetite for stimulants, and that the true cause of their use is the antecedent physical exhaustion; the remedy, healthy, well-balanced constitutions.

If this view should prove correct, one of the great points in the training of pauper and criminal children will be to pay special attention to sexual training, and to prevent and cure constitutional diseases which may have come to them as a heritage. Then the question of intemperance will be a long way on its solution, the gin palace will cease to be a temptation, and prohibitory legislation will be superseded by hygienic training. Of course what is here presented is very inadequate to the subject, but careful reticence is better than brilliant error.

The points that need special observation in the study of intemperance seem to be, what age was drinking first begun; what age habitual intemperance became confirmed; what were the sexual habits at various periods, especially in youth; whether any deep-seated disease has preceded the intemperate habits, and if so, what kind, mental or physical; whether excessive study or labor has exhausted the vitality; whether there is a hereditary predisposition; whether the trade or occupation is detrimental to health; whether the locality of the habitation produces disease, and what kind; what is the temperment of the man? All these questions must be answered by ascertained facts before we can give an intelligent answer to the question, "is intemperance the cause of crime and pauperism?" or only a secondary cause that must be reached by well ordered sanitary and hygienic measures.

Crime. — In the table here appended, as only official records of crimes are entered, two principal causes for the smallness of the number of offenses need explaining. As respects crimes, the records of only one county were examined, and these reached back only to 1830; the earlier

records, your committee was told, are down in the cellar of the county clerk's office, under the coal. To get a full record of the crimes of the Juke family the criminal records of three other counties need to be examined. As respects misdemeanors, these are to be found in the books of justices of the peace and the books of the sheriffs, both of which are almost all destroyed or laid away in private hands, packed in barrels or stowed in garrets, and are inaccessible. Besides these it may be mentioned that in the latter part of the last century and the beginning of this, many acts which now subject a man to imprisonment then went unpunished, even cases of murder, arson and highway robbery, so that the absence of a man's name from the criminal calendar is no criterion of his honesty.

By reference to the charts, crime will be seen to run chiefly in the illegitimate stocks, and mostly where there is a cross of the Juke blood into X.

In the first place, the illegitimates who have become parent stocks are the oldest children of their respective mothers, Ada, Bell and Delia; but as the bastards of the latter had no children, this leaves only those of her other two sisters to consider.

In the study of crime we take the males as the leading sex, skipping the women just as in studying harlotry we skipped the men, but at the same time it will be well to notice how harlotry prevails among those families where the boys are criminals.

Case 19. Take chart I, generation 3, line 1, we get an intermarriage of cousins and the appearance of crime seems to be postponed for a generation. The word "seems" is used because no crime receiving punishment was committed; but there is no doubt that the two eldest sons of the next generation were both petty thieves, one of them an expert sheep stealer. Coming down to the next generation (5th) we find the criminal children to be where there is a cross between the Juke and the X blood. We also find that the oldest male child of the fourth generation is the father of proportionately more criminals than the second male child, while the third male child, who is also the youngest and has intermarried into the Juke blood, is the father of honest children. The figures run thus: 1st son, 7 boys, 5 criminals; 2d son, 6 boys, 2 criminals; 3d son, 4 boys, no criminals.

Moreover, comparing the children of the fifth generation by families, we find that it is the older brothers who are the criminals and not the younger ones; while, if we trace down line 1 to the 6th generation, we find the heredity of crime seems to run in the line of the oldest child, and that the males preponderate in those lines.

Case 20. Taking the illegitimate progeny of Bell, chart III, what

TABLE IX.

Crimes against Property.

		Number of Offenses.												
		2d Gen.		3d Gen.		4th Gen.		5th Gen.		6th Gen.		Total.		Total.
		M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
Misdemeanor	Juke	..	..	1	..	7	6	14	14	1	2	24	22	...
	X	..	..	1	..	1	1	8	1	..	..	9	3	...
Petit larceny	Juke	..	..	..	..	1	..	6	..	..	..	7	..	...
	X	..	..	.	..	3	..	2	..	..	..	5	..	...
Grand larceny	Juke	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	X	..	..	..	.	1	..	2	..	..	..	3	..	...
Burglary	Juke	..	..	..	..	2	..	11	..	..	..	..	..	...
	X	..	..	..	..	2	1	..	..	..	..	.	..	...
Forgery	Juke	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	X	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	...
False pretenses	Juke	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
	X	..	..	1	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	1	..	...
Robbery	Juke	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	..	...
	X	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
Total	Juke	..	..	1	..	10	6	32	14	1	2	44	22	66
	X	..	..	2	..	8	2	12	1	..	..	22	3	25
Grand total, offenses		..	..	3	.	18	8	44	15	1	2	66	25	91
Number of offenders	Juke	..	..	1	..	8	4	12	9	1	2	22	15	37
	X	2	..	2	..	6	2	8	1	..	..	16	3	19
Total		2	..	3	..	14	6	20	10	1	2	38	18	56

Crimes against the Person.

Assault and battery	Juke	..	..	..	..	3	..	3	..	..	..	6	..	...
	X	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	..	4	..	...
Assault, intent to kill	Juke	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..	2	1	...
	X	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
Murder	Juke	1	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	...
	X	..	..	..	..	2	..	1	..	..	..	3	..	...
Rape, and attempt at rape	Juke	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	..	..	..	5	..	...
	X	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	...
Total offenses	Juke	1	..	..	..	5	1	9	..	1	..	16	1	17
	X	..	..	..	..	3	..	4	..	..	..	7	..	7
Grand total, offenses		1	..	..	..	8	1	13	..	1	.	23	1	24
Number of offenders	Juke	1	..	..	..	4	1	6	..	1	..	12	1	13
	X	..	..	..	..	4	..	4	..	..	..	8	..	8
Total number of offenders		1	..	..	..	8	1	10	..	1	..	20	1	21

do we find: that the preponderance is of males, and that the three eldest children are honest, industrious and self-supporting.

The reason for the honesty of the first born children will be discussed further on. But when we come to the fourth child we find, what? That he has married outside the Juke blood; that he is not a criminal himself, but that amongst his children are found criminals. The oldest of his boys, as in the previous generation, was industrious. He married, emigrated to Pennsylvania at least 30 years ago, and now owns a farm and is doing well.

The second child was a farmer and industrious, lived to 70 years of age, and neither committed crime or went to the county-house, but received out-door relief at 65 for 3 years. The third child did tolerably well and had no criminal children, they being all girls. The fourth was a criminal and died of syphilitic consumption; the fifth was the father of a criminal; also the sixth, who has received outside relief at 38 years of age, while the seventh, and last, was a harlot and an alms-house pauper, who died of syphilitic disease.

Here we see crime immediately follows the cross of bloods, and that the criminal is born before the pauper of the family, as we also have seen that the honest is born before the criminal. It now remains to follow several lines, tracing the heredity of individual cases, and laying the environment alongside.

Case 21. Chart I, line 1, generation 6, gives a boy 17 years of age, who has served six months in Albany penitentiary for petit larceny; his father (gen. 5th) has been twice in county jail for assault and battery, and is now serving a five year sentence in state prison for a rape on his niece in her twelfth year. Going further back we find the father was a petty thief, though never convicted. This ends the information as to the heredity. Now as to the environment.

The adults of this generation (fourth) lived in a settlement mainly composed of their own relatives, situated in the woods around a chain of lakes. The greater proportion of these people having recourse to petty theft to help out their uncertain incomes, going on excursions of several miles during the night, and robbing hen-roosts, stripping clothes lines, breaking into smoke-houses and stealing hams, corn, firewood and wood with which to make axe-handles, baskets or chair-bottoms. This general condition continued during the boyhood of the fifth generation, only, they being bolder, more experienced and more enterprising, and the general wealth of the community having enormously increased, their field became broader and their offenses more grave than those of the previous generation. Going down to the sixth generation we find the boy of 17 is suddenly deprived of support by his father being sent to Sing Sing prison. He is in want; his mother goes to the poor-house with the younger children, while he takes up the life of a vagrant, picking up his living as he best can. Want, bad company, neglect, form the environment that predisposes to larceny. He will not go to the county-house with his mother; he feels it is more independent to steal and take the risks. Now self-reliance, no matter how wrongly it asserts itself, is indicative of power, and this power should be availed of for better purposes. In these three generations is traced an environment which predisposes to crime and corresponds to the heredity.

Case 22. Now turning to line 4 of the sixth generation, a boy 19 years of age throws another boy over a cliff forty feet high, out of malicious mischief. This boy is the second illegitimate child of his mother, but probably not of his father, which latter was the first illegitimate child of his mother by X. This case then seems to follow the rule that the crime follows the lines of illegitimacy where the Juke blood marries into X. There is no evidence that the mother was a criminal, but her father was a petty thief, as shown by chart I. Such is the heredity.

The environment, a home the scene of violence, debauch and drunkenness, father and mother both intemperate and idle; the mother becoming the procuress for her eldest son of a child 12 years of age, whom that illegitimate son seduces and is forced to marry to prevent criminal prosecution; the first born of this child forming the third bastard in the line of heredity. Here we have an environment corresponding to the heredity.

Case 22. Line 22, generation 5, seems to be an exception to the rule that the oldest is a criminal, but it is only a seeming exeeption. We find the second son was engaged in a burglary at 12 years of age with his older brother, getting $100 in gold as booty. The boy was caught but the leader in the crime, the older brother, aged 19, escaped. This last was a sailor, and so it is impossible to get any reliable information about his career, but it is evident he was a leader in crime at an early age.

Of lines 33, 34 and 37 in the fifth generation, brothers and sisters, we find the oldest son commits a number of offenses, among them murder, but he escapes punishment as in the case above. The second child, a girl, has become the contriver of the crimes which the third child, a boy, has carried into effect, and for which he has recently received 20 years' sentence of imprisonment. In this case the boldest and most intelligent is the oldest child.

Of the crimes committed by the legitimate branch of the Juke family no chart has been made, only that the same general rule holds good, that the eldest is the criminal of the family, the youngest the pauper.

Preliminary conclusions reached respecting crime:

1. That the burden of crime is found in the illegitimate lines.
2. That the legitimate lines marry into crime.
3. That those streaks of crime found in the legitimate lines are found chiefly where there have been crosses into X.
4. That the eldest child has a tendency to be the criminal of the family.
5. That crime chiefly follows the male lines.

TABLE X.

Showing the Contrast between the Distinctively Pauper and the Distinctively Criminal Branches.

	Total number of males.	Out-door Relief.								Alms-house Relief.							
		No. receiving it.	Per cent.	No. of years.	No. of years for each person.	Age of youngest adult receiving.	No. under 20 years who receive it.	No. under 25 years and over 20.	No. over 35 and under 40 who first received.	No. over 45 who first receive it.	No. receiving it.	Per cent.	No. of years.	No. of years to each person.	Children under 15 receiving it.	Age of youngest adult ceiving it.	No. of adults under 30 receiving it.	No. of adults over 35 receiving it.	No. of adults over 50 receiving it.
Juke males (1) A. ⋈ B. branch.....	28	10	35.71	48	4.80	19	1	....	4	2	6	21.42	17	2.833	5	17	1	....	....
Juke males E. ⋈ X branch.....	13	8	61.54	52	6.50	17	3	4	....	..	5	38.86	5	1.000	1	23	1	2	1
Criminal males (1) A. ⋈ B....	17	6	35.30	38	6.333	*19	1	...	2	3	4	23.53	9	2.250	3	17	1	....	....
Criminal males E. ⋈ X.....	7	7	100.00	44	6.285	17	1	4	....	....	4	57.14	4	1.000	....	23	1	2	1

* Town burial.

TABLE X, *Continued.*

	Crime.												Against Property.		Against Person.		
	No. of criminals.	Per cent to total males.	No. of offenses.	No. of offenses to each criminal.	Offenses agt. property.	Per ct. to total offenses.	Offenses against the person.	Per ct. to total offenses.	Vagrancy, breach of peace.	Per centage to total offenses.	Years of prison or penitentiary.	Average No. of years to each.	Years of county jail.	Highest crime.	Lowest crime.	Highest crime.	Lowest crime.	Longest sentence, years.
Juke males (1) A. ⋈ B. branch..	17	60.71	42	2 470	23	54.76	12	28.57	7	16.68	70¼	1.132	1½	Burglary, 1st H. robbery..	Petit larceny.	Murder. Rape.	Ass'lt & battery.	20
Juke males E. ⋈ X branch	7	53.84	13	1.857	4	30.77	4	30.77	6	46.15	5	.7143	½	Petit larceny.	.....	Attempt to kill.	Ass'lt & battery.	5

6. That the longest lines of crime are along the line of the eldest son.

7. That crime, as compared to pauperism, is an indication of vigor.

8. That, for this reason, there is greater chance for reform in the criminal than there is in the pauper, whose condition is an indication of under-vitalization and consequent untrainableness.

This last proposition brings us to a comparison of crime and pauperism.

The ideal pauper is the idiotic adult who never could and never will be able to help himself, and may be justly called a living embodiment of death. The ideal criminal is a courageous man in the prime of life who so skillfully contrives crime on a large scale that he escapes detection and succeeds in making the community believe him to be honest as he is generous. Between these two extremes there are endless gradations which approximate each other, till at last you reach a class who are too weak to be dangerous criminals, and too strong to be almshouse paupers; they form the bulk of the tools who execute what the others plan and constitute the majority of those who are found in prison during their youth and prime, and in the poor-house in their old age These men prefer the risks and excitements of criminality and the occasional confinement of a prison where they meet congenial company, to the security against want and the stagnant life of the alms-house.

To more fully illustrate this we give table X, in which is made a comparison of the distinctively criminal branch of Ada, with the distinctively pauper branch of Effie, so that the difference can be contrasted. It will be seen that while the criminal branch shows 35 per cent of out-door relief and 21 per cent of alms-house paupers, with 60 per cent of crime, the pauper branch shows 61 per cent of out-door relief, 38 per cent of alms-house pauperism, and 53 per cent of crime. But when we come to study the intensity of crime, we find that while nine offenders of the line of Ada have been sent to State prison for 60 years, only one has been sent for five years of the line of Effie. Again, contrasting the crimes against property, against person and vagrancy, the percentages show great fluctuations. While Ada's offspring perpetrate 54 per cent of crimes against property, including burglary, grand larceny, and highway robbery, Effie's only show 30 per cent, the highest crime being petit larceny, which is the lowest crime of the other branch. Of the crimes against the person, the children of Effie show a preponderance, 30 per cent, compared to 28 per cent, while the offenses compare on the one hand as to intensity: murder, one; attempt at rape, three; on the other; attempt to kill, one. When we come to vagrancy and breach of peace, the percentage stands between Ada's and Effie's children as 16 to 46 per cent, and for vagraney, as 2 to 38 per cent.

Comparing the criminals of each branch to each other, we find while

all of Effie's are pauperized, only 35 per cent of Ada's have received out-door relief, while the alms-house pauperism compare as 23 per cent of Ada, to 57 per cent of Effie. Looking still closer and comparing ages at which relief was received, we find only one of Ada, to five of Effie, received out-door relief under 25 years of age, while two of Ada's resisted application till after 35, and one after 45, while every one of Effie's seven criminals was a pauper before 35 — in point of fact at 30. The contrast as to the alms-house pauperism appears much less than it really is, for, while Ada's account has three children in the poor-house whose ages range from four to ten, Effie's are all adults, ranging from 23 to 56 years of age.

From this comparison, it would seem that the distinctively pauper stock is less aggressive than the criminal, that crimes of contrivance are characteristic of the criminal branch, while petty misdemeanors are the characteristic of the pauper criminal.

Case 24. Having summed up the evidence on pauperism and crime, we now turn to chart IV, generation 5, line 1, to a man who forms an example of the transition state between the two. He is the illegitimate first son of a first son; what his early childhood was has not been ascertained beyond this, that he was not an inmate of an alms-house. His youth was licentious, for at 13 he was afflicted so severely with syphilis, that his foot was lamed for life, and at 41, the time when he was seen, he walked with a halting step. The records show that at 23 years of age, he got out-door relief; at 25, petit larceny, county jail; at 30, petit larceny, no one prosecutes; 32, out-door relief one year; 33, prosecuted for bastardy. He compounded this suit by marrying the girl; at 38, out-door relief; at 41, petit larceny, county jail 30 days; assault and battery when drunk, county jail 20 days. This year I saw him at the house of the poormaster, making application for an ax to do wood-chopping, bringing a friend along to ask for a pair of boots. The ax played the ostensible part of honest intentions to work, so that the boots might be forthcoming. Both were denied, and justly.

He seems to realize in his own person the prepotency of a first child and the weakness of an invalid, as if it might be a conflict between vitality and death, but the side upon which the balance must ultimately fall was decided at 13. He cannot escape being an alms-house pauper except by the interposition of sudden death, because the disability under which he labors is a deep-seated disease, which, year on year, with cumulative force adds to his inefficiency. Although the eldest child of his generation, he has received out-door relief at an earlier age than his brothers, his disease standing as the equivalent of weakness, and inducing an apathy which destroys both physical activity and pride.

Preliminary inductions on the relations of crime and pauperism:

1. Where a person oscillates between the poor-house and the jail, it raises a presumption there is either constitutional disease or an entailment of mental weakness from the parents.

2. With true criminals pauperism either occurs in old age or in childhood, and is not synchronous with the term of the crime career.

3. The misfortune of one generation which throws the children into an alms-house, may lay the foundation for a criminal career for that generation if the children are of an enterprising temperament, but paupers if of low vitality and early licentious habits.

4. That the crime of one generation may lay the foundation for the pauperism of the next, especially if the children thrown into the alms-house are girls and remain inmates long enough to become mothers.

5. Hereditary pauperism seems to be more fixed than hereditary crime, for very much of crime is the misdirection of faculty and is amenable to discipline, while very much of pauperism is due to the absence of vital power, the lines of pauperism being in many cases identical with such lines of organic disease of mind or body as insanity, consumption, syphilis, which cause the successive extinction of capacity, from generation to generation, till death supervenes.

6. Criminal careers are more easily modified by environment, because crime, more especially contrived crime, is an index of capacity, and wherever there is capacity there environment is most effective in producing modifications of career.

7. Rape, especially of little girls, is a crime of weakness, and, when occurring after the meridian of life has passed (from 35 to 45), marks the decadence of vitality and the consequent weakening of the will-power over the passions.

Relations of Honesty, Crime and Pauperism. — It has already been noticed that the illegitimate children of Bell were industrious and honest, and that the eldest, a mulatto, was "the best of his generation," while the fourth child was the father of criminals. On following down to the next generation of this fourth child, we find the two oldest children honest, the first one acquiring property, the fourth one a criminal contriving crime, and the two next children the parents of criminals, while the youngest is a pauper. In the most vigorous branches honesty and industry are first in order, crime second, and pauperism third. This order may be observed in the following cases:

Case 25. In chart III, children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the stock of Bell (lines 1 to 15):

Third Generation.
- 1st. Honesty and industry, with honest descendants.
- 2d. Honesty and industry, with descendants honest, criminal and pauper, in the order named.

Fourth Generation.
- 1st. Honesty, industry and worldly success.
- 2d. Honesty and industry without worldly success.
- 3d. Personally criminal.
- 4th. Non-criminal, but father of criminals.
- 5th. Non-criminal, pauperized.

Case 26. Now look at chart I, children of the oldest child of the generation of the illegitimate stock of Ada (lines 1 to 13):

Fifth Generation.
1. Criminal and father of criminals.
2. Criminal and not father of criminals, reform with resumption of honest labor.
3. Non-criminal, but inefficient.
4. Pauperized.

Taking the third child, fourth generation, and analyzing his progeny (lines 22 to 32) we find:

Fifth Generation.
1. Criminal.
2. Criminal, reformed.
3. Non-criminal.
4. Pauperized.

Here the same general tendency is noted in the comparison of the children of the same generation. In the discussion of the features of crime we found the tendency to hereditary crime to be along the line of the eldest male child, there is probability that the same is true of the tendency to hereditary honesty, although I have at present no facts to establish it.

Descending from the comparison of families to the analysis of individual careers, we get the same essential facts in a different form, and in a way that brings us to a comprehension of some of the underlying causes of them.

Case 27. Take l. m. A. B. X., chart I, generation 5, line 1. At 30 years of age he commits grand larceny, and is sent to the county jail for ninety days. From that time he gets committed no more till he is 49, when he is sent to Sing Sing five years for rape of his niece, 12

CHART III. The Legitimate and Illegitimate Posterity of Bell Juke, with the Persons they Married.

GENERATION 2.		GENERATION 3.		GENERATION 4.		GENERATION 5.		GENERATION 6.	Line.
Bell Juke. Farm labor; harlot before marriage; had 3 illegitimate black children and 1 white; not industrious; no property; received o. relief; temperate; not criminal; died 18[illegible].	l. m. X. Common laborer; revolutionary soldier; not industrious; no property; received pension; also o. relief; no criminal; temperate.	(1) b. m. B. 60. Farmer; mulatto; industrious; temperate; acquired property; intelligent, manly, and "the best of his generation;" no criminal; twice married; died about 1820.	× l. f. X. Industrious; temperate; healthy; mulatto; cohabited; no o. relief, × f. X. Second wife; no particulars.	Had 2 boys and 3 girls by first wife, but the children did not do so well as the parents. Had 1 boy and 1 girl by second wife; the son got frozen to death when drunk; these children all married colored people.	....	Children not traced........	....	....	1
		(2) b. f. B. Mulatto; harlot before marriage; temperate; not industrious.	× b. m. X. Mulatto; not industrious; no property; intemperate; at 50 died, about 1821.	Had numerous children, who have not been traced........	....	....	....	....	2
		(3) b. m. B. Mulatto; not industrious; laborer; acquired property and sold it; temperate; adopted a daughter of his half brother and gave her a fair home.	× i. f. X. White; good repute.	No children........	....	....	....	....	3
		(4) b. m. B. 69. White; farmer; industrious in youth; acquired farm 60 acres; read and write a little; prostitute; old age habitual drunkard; lost property; at 66, o. relief, 3 y.; 69, died of debility, town burial.	× l. f. X........	(1) l. m. B. X. Farmer; industrious; owns farm; when boy, was apprenticed to a farmer; read and write. ×	l. f. X. Good repute; cannot read or write; mother harlot.	Have left county and gone to Pennsylvania, where they bought land; have children, but not traced.	....	....	4
				(2) l. m. B. X. 70. Farm laborer; slightly intemperate; good character; no property; industrious; at 65, o. relief, 2 y.; 70, o. relief, 1 y.; town burial, 1874. ×	l. f. X. 50. Good reputation; industrious; at 45, o. relief, 2 y. 50, husband dies, o. relief, 1 y.; temperate.	Children not traced........	....	....	5
				(3) l. f. B. X. Good repute........ ×	l. m. X. 50. Laborer; somewhat industrious; no property; cohabited; intemperate; died of an overdose of opium in 1855........	l. f. B. X. X. Good repute; basket maker; read and write; 1866, o. relief, 1 y.; 1868, o. relief, 1 y.; 1874, o. relief, 1 y. ×	l. m. X. 50. Stone-mason; 39, soldier; 42, o. relief, 1 y.; 44, o. relief, 1 y.; 50, o. relief, 1 y.	....	6
						l. f. B. X. X. Harlot; read and write........ =	m. X........	....	7
						l. f. B. X. X. Basket-maker; good repute; 1855, child dead, town burial; 1862, o. relief, 3 y.; 1872, o. relief, 2 y.; temperate. ×	l. m. A. B. X. 48. Married second cousin. For husband and children, see Chart I, Gen. 5 and 6, line 4.	....	8
						f. B. X. X. Died probably of syphilitic disease; no property; could not read or write; harlot; constitutional syphilis.	....	....	9
				(4) l. m. B. X. Laborer; 1848, bur., 3d, S. prison 2½ y.; died of syphilis in hospital.	f. X. Syphilis; died in a fit (probably epileptic)........	f. B. X. X. Died probably of syphilitic disease; constitutional syphilis.	....	....	10
						l. m. B. X. X. Laborer on canal; 1874, attempt at rape, nolle prosequi; rough, dangerous man; unmarried.	....	....	11
				(5) l. m. B. X. Laborer on canal; no property; married twice; drowned on morning of marriage. ×	i f. X. Had bastard before marriage; 1845, c. jail; no property........	l. f. B. X. X........	m. X. Blacksmith........	....	12
						....	....	....	13
				(6) l. m. B. X. 55. Teamster; at 38, o. relief, 3 y.; 44, soldier; bought house and lot with bounty money, and gave it to his wife; 45, o. relief, 2 y.; 50, o. relief, 5 y.; 55, c. jail, 90 d., charge larceny, acquitted; ignorant; rather honest; cannot read and write; married third cousin. ×	For husband and children, see Chart I, Gen. 5, line 35........				
				(7) l. f. B. X. Harlot; syphilis; at 30, o. relief, 3 y.; 35, o. relief, 1 y.; 40, poor-house, 1 y.; no property. =	m. X. 1846, bur., 3d, S. prison, 3 y.; 1863, soldier; 1865, deserted her and married; syphilis........	b. f. B. X. X. At 10, p. house, 1 y.; dead........	m. X........	....	14
						b. m. B. X. X. At 8, p. house, 1 y.; the father subsequently sent for him and brought him up; trace lost.	....	....	15
		(5) l. m. B. Farm laborer; somewhat industrious; healthy; no property; read a little; somewhat intemperate; died between 70 and 80 of old age; marriage between cousins.	× i. f. C. Mother reputed chaste	(1) l. f. B. C. Died of cholera in 1837........	....	....	....	....	16
				(2) l. f. B. C. Died of cholera in 1837........	....	....	....	....	17
				(3) l. f. B. C. 60. Bawdy house; harlot; syphilis; lazy; habitual drunkard; no property; at 37, o. relief, 1 y.; 40, o. relief, 1 y.; 60, died, 1869. ×	l. m. X. Loafer; lazy; licentious; habitual drunkard; kept brothel; no property; 1846, o. relief, 1 y.; 1849, o. relief, 1 y.; 1865, murder, 3d degree, Sing Sing, 3 y........	l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; intemperate; 1870, sick, o. relief, 2 y.; no property; cannot read or write. =	m. X. Criminal........	1 bastard child........	18
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; habitual drunkard; kept brothel; 1866, assault and bat., c. jail, 4 months, 1873, o. relief, 2 y.; read and write. =	l. m. X. 51. Kept brothel; licentious; constitutional syphilis; habitual drunkard; idle; inherited property, lost it; 49, o. relief, 2 y; good education.	Not traced........	19
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; idle; 1869, vagrant, c. jail, 1 d.; read and write.	....	....	20
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; habitual drunkard; kept rum shop and brothel; idle; p. house, 1 y.; read and write. =	l. m. X. 37. Laborer; constitutional syphilis; no propery; habitual drunkard; 25, o. relief, 1 y.; kept rum-shop; disorderly house, c. jail; 27, o. relief 1. y.; 37, died of syphilis.	Barren........	21
						l. m. B. C. X. Constitutional syphilis; no property; 1868, assault and bat., c. jail, 46 d.	Not traced........	....	22
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; no property; read and write	Not traced........	....	23
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; no property; read and write; divorced; kept rum shop and brothel; lazy × =	m. X. Divorced from B. C. X. on account of loose conduct.	....	24
							m. X. Wagon-maker; temperate; idle; deserted wife and children for B. C. X., who are supported by town.	....	25
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot........ =	m. X........	....	26
						l. m. B. C. X.	....	....	27
						l. m. B. C. X. 1864, o. relief, 1 y.; intemperate........	....	....	28
						l. f. B. C. X. Harlot; constitutional syphilis; 1860, vagrant, c. jail........	....	....	29
				(4) l. m. B. C. 63. Has left the county; at 59, breach of peace........ ×	f. X. No information........				
				(5) l. f. B. C. 61. Harlot after marriage; brought up by her half uncle, a mulatto, till 18, and reputable till then; at 38, o. relief, 1 y.; 43, o. relief, 5 y.; 48, o. relief, 1 y.; 50, o. relief, 1 y.; 52, o. relief, 1 y.; 55, o. relief, 2 y.; 61, o. relief, 1 y.; intelligent, with excellent memory; no property; married second cousin. × =	l. m. D. X. Laborer; temperate; no property; died of inflammation of the lungs. m. X. Loafer; habitual drunkard; 1860, o. relief, 1 y.; 1861, petit larceny, c. jail, 30 d.; drunk, c. jail, 10 days.	(1) l. f. B. C. D. X. 39. Good repute; industrious; temperate; no criminal; read and write. ×	l. m. X. Laborer; soldier in war; temperate; read and write; good citizen; inherited property.	4 legitimate boys; 2 girls........	30
						(2) l. f. B. C. D. X. 37. Blind; at 27. o. relief, 2 y.; 37, o. relief, 1 y.; married third cousin. ×	l. m. A. D. For husband, see Chart II, Gen. 4, line 33........	....	31
						(3) l. f. B. C. D. X. 35. Harlot; 31, o. relief, 1 y.; 33, o. relief, 2 y........ =	m. X. 29. Laborer; 25, o. relief, 1 y.; 27, o. relief, 2 y.; died, 1874; town burial.	Childless........	32
						(4) l. m. B. C. D. X. 32. Laborer; at 21, soldier; industrious; no property; good citizen. ×	l. f. X. Good repute; not industrious; read and write........	1 girl, 8........	33
						(5) l. m. B. C. D. X. 28. Cooper; o. relief, 1 y........	f. X........	3 girls........	34
						....	....	....	35
						(6) b. m. B. C. X. 25. Dwarf, with double joints; unmarried; supports his mother.	....	....	36
				(6) l. m. B. C. 58. Laborer; nearly blind; somewhat industrious; honest; no property; no o. relief; temperate; probably constitutional syphilis; married cousin.	For wife and children, see Chart II, Gen. 4 and 5, lines 5 to 10........	(7) b. m. B. C. X. 21. No property; intemperate; married cousin........ ×	For wife and children, see Chart II, Gen. 5, line 8........	....	37
				(7) l. m. B. C. Laborer; somewhat industrious; no property; blind by injury; impotent; died of tubercular consumption, 1859; married cousin.	For wife, see Chart II, Gen. 4, line 11........	....	....	....	38
				(8) l. f. B. C. 51. At 30, o. relief, 6 y.; 41, o. relief, 3 y.; 46, o. relief, 1 y.; 49, o. relief, 1 y.; small shrunken body; syphilitic blindness; good repute.	For husband, see Chart IV, Gen. 4 and 5, lines 3 to 7........	....	....	....	39
				(9) l. m. B. C. 50. Laborer; impotent, wife got a divorce from him upon that ground; married cousin.	For wife, see Chart II, Gen. 4, line 19........	....	....	....	40
				(10) l. m. B. C. 49. Laborer; ignorant, coarse, intemperate; no property; at 40, o. relief, 1 y.; healthy. ×	f. X........	4 legitimate boys, 6 legitimate girls; 2 girls died when infants........	....	....	41
						(1) l. m. B. C. X. 24. Married third cousin........ ×	f. E. X. X........	1 boy........	42
							....	....	43
						(2) l. f. B. C. X. 21. Harlot; works in factory; neatly dressed; not married........	....	....	44
						(3) l. f. B. C. X. 19. Harlot; works in factory; neatly dressed; not married........			
		(6) l. f. B. Good repute; temperate; not criminal; healthy; no property; no o. relief; married her cousin; died 1849.	For husband and children, see Chart I, Gen. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, lines 1 to 46.	....	....	....	....	....	45
		(7) l. m. B. Farm laborer; somewhat industrious; no property; dead.	× l. f. C. married her cousin; at 84 died, 1849.	Barren........	....	....	....	....	46
		(8) l. m. B. 78. Farm laborer; somewhat industrious; no property; blind with cataract; temperate; at 55, o. relief, 23 y.; 78, town burial, 1874.	× f. X. 78. Good repute; at 55, o. relief, 23 y.; somewhat industrious.	(1) l. m. B. C. Laborer; 1845, bur., 3d, S. prison, 2 y.; learned shoemaking; 1860, breach of peace, c. jail; 1863, soldier; died at war; no property. ×	f. X........	(1) l. f. B. C. X. Harlot before marriage; not industrious; no property; o. relief; cannot read or write; constitutional syphilis; died of syphilitic disease.	m. X........	Barren........	47
						(2) l. f. B. C. X. Constitutional syphilis; died of syphilis while young........	....	....	48
				(2) l. m. B. C. Laborer; hand cut off........ =	f. X. Harlot; syphilis........	Barren; family extinct........	....	....	49

Explanation.

- × - Married.
- = - - Cohabiting.
- o. relief, Out-door relief.
- p. house, Poor house.
- c. jail - County jail.
- bur. - - Burglary.
- S. Sing, Sing Sing prison.
- Alb. Pen., Albany Penitentiary
- S. p. - - State prison.
- p. lar. - Petit larceny.
- y. - - - Year.
- m. - - Month.
- d. - - - Day.

years old. In other words, during the prime of life, when the judgment and the will have most control over the emotions, the man's tendency is to give up crime and live by industry. But after he passes the prime we find him committing a crime of weakness, and it will repay to study it carefully.

The order in which the cerebral functions are developed are: 1st. The nervous centers of reflex action ; 2d. The sensations ; 3d. The passions and emotions ; 4th. The judgment and the will, which reach their maximum power from 30 to 33 years of age. The order of their decay is substantially in an inverse progression. Upon looking over the statistics of the crime of rape we find that, for the young, the age of maximum passion is 27, before the full development of the judgment and will; that the fewest occur between the ages of 32 and 35, the age of maximum will-power ; but from this time we get again an increase in the per centage of this offense. And why ? Because the will, which is the moral governor, tends to decay sooner than the erotic passions, and the man's mind has lost, in part, the moral balance which it possessed at 35, hence the fact that opportunity then becomes temptation. This disposes in a general way of the main features of the phenomena of the growth and decay of the organic life, but in this case there is a still further lesson in the study of the environment which was contributive to the act. The circumstances which determined this particular offense accord with the theory of action taking the direction of least resistance. His niece accompanied him alone to go fishing ; now fishing is not an employment requiring labor of either mind or body, and so we find *the* element conspiring to produce the crime is idleness, which left the full vitality of the man to wreak itself in the direction of licentiousness. Laying aside the collateral lesson here, and returning to the main fact to be noted in the chain of argument, the features of it correspond to the essential phenomena of growth, that, being punished for an offense at 30 just before the meridian of life, his career is amended during that period, but, as age approaches with its attendant weakness, he breaks out at 49 into another form of crime, distinctive of the decline of life.

Case 28. Take line 7, generation 5, brother of the above. At 22 he was a boatman, and in company with his brother-in-law he commits a burglary, third degree, for which he serves sentence of three years in Sing Sing. Discharged at 25 years of age, he ceases crime and becomes an honest laborer, abandons boating on canal, which is a vagrant occupation, and settles down. He is now described by his employer as a steady, civil and reliable man. The three years' continuous labor in prison, together with the fullness of development attending maturity, have produced steady habits.

Here he gets industrial training before the meridian of life, and his career is measurably amended.

Case 29. The next brother, line 8, begins his career with petit larceny at 12, with 60 days in county jail; petit larceny at 21, county jail 30 days; grand larceny at 21, Sing Sing three years. The probabilities are that between 12 and 21 he committed offenses elsewhere. At 36, tried for shooting at horses. His case has not been fully followed; whether he reforms is to be tested, but the probabilities are against it, as he is living with a licentious woman.

Case 30. Passing now to the cousins of these men, from lines 22 to 32, the career of the oldest has not been traced. Line 25, we find at 12 assisting his brother in a burglary; at 17 serves two years in State prison for burglary; at 22, two more years for breach of the peace, no doubt the severity of the sentence being made to cover two indictments for burglary, which could not be proved, but which he no doubt committed; at 24, burglary third degree, Sing Sing three years. It is said that the total years of imprisonment he has served in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Vermont and Rhode Island, has been from 13 to 14 years. In Clinton prison he learned iron rolling and also industrious habits, for now he has moved to another county, rents a quarry, and employs men to get out flag-stones. Here, again, before the meridian of life is passed, the education of labor, together with the experience of a riper age, produces an amended career.

Case 31. Line 26, brother of the above, at 20 years, county jail 30 days for assault and battery; at 21, county jail 30 days for same offense; at 22, Sing Sing two years for burglary third degree; at 31 he moved into the same county as his brother above mentioned, purchased a farm and works a quarry upon it; is worth $5,000 at 37, and the testimony of persons who have known him is, that "he is considerable of a man."

Now this line of facts points to two main lessons; the value of labor as an element of reform, especially when we consider that the majority of the individuals of the Juke blood, when they work at all, are given to intermittent industries. The element of continuity is lacking in their character; enforced labor, in some cases, seems to have the effect of supplying this deficiency. But the fact which is quite as important but less obvious, is, that crime and honesty run in the lines of greatest vitality, and that the qualities which make contrivers of crime are substantially the same as will make men successful in honest pursuits. In all the cases above cited burglary preponderates. This crime requires a strong physique, a cool head, and a good judgment backed by pluck.

CHART IV. One Branch of the Posterity of Effie Juke, with the Persons they Married.

GENERATION 2.		GENERATION 3.		GENERATION 4.				GENERATION 5.				GENERATION 6.	Line
Effie Juke. Have been unable to get any personal information respecting her. She had at least four children, but only one has been traced down to the sixth generation.	× m. X. Brother to the man who married Delia Juke, and son of Max; he was without doubt a thief.	1. f. E. Basket-maker; harlot; at 77, o. relief, 2 y.; not industrious; she married her cousin.	× m. X. 81. Laborer; at 45, o. relief, 1 y.; 79, p. house, 3 y.; lazy, licentious; 81, died in p. house, 1871.	(1) l. m. E. X. 64.	Brickmaker; at 18, bastard son; 30, o. relief, 1 y.; 32, o. relief, 2 y.; 36, o. relief, 2 y.; 38, o. relief, 1 y.; 41, assault, intent to kill, S. prison, 5 y.; × 53, assault and battery, forfeits bail, vagrancy, c. jail, 10 d.; 54, o. relief, 3 y.; 56, p. house, 1 y.; 59, o. relief, 1 y.; 62, o. relief, 1 y.; lazy; no property; able-bodied; in full health.	l. f. A. X.	Quadroon; 1846, o. relief, 2 y.; 1849, o. relief; married second cousin; syphilis; dead.	(1) b. m. E. X. X. 41.	Laborer; idle; at 13 contracts syphilis; 17, o. relief, larceny, c. jail; 22, petit lar., c. jail, no prosecution; 23, o. relief, 1 y.; 25, bastardy prosecution; 33, o. relief, 1 y.; 36, o. relief, 5 y.; 41, petit lar., c. jail, 30 d.; assault and battery, c. jail, 20 d.	× f. X.	Seduced by E. X. X., whom she forces to marry her; 1869, o. relief, 5 y.	1 boy and 3 girls	1
						l. f. B. C. 51.	At 30, o. relief, 6 y.; 41, o. relief, 3 y.; 46, o. relief, 1 y.; 49, o. relief, 1 y.; small, shrunken body; syphilitic blindness; married second cousin.	(2) l. m. E. X. A. X. 34.	Cohabited; at 33, soldier; 34, killed at war	=	f. X.	Harlot; German	Barren	2
								(3) l. f. E. X. B. C.	Harlot before marriage; had illegitimate child	×	(4) l. m. A. X. E. X.	Licentious; married cousin	For children, see Chart II, Gen. 6, lines 46 and 47	3
								(4) l. f. E. X. B. C. 28.	Harlot; at 21, o. relief, 1 y.	=	m. X.	1867, o. relief, 2 y.; petit lar., c. jail, 90 d.; no property	4 bastard boys, oldest died, two hours old	4
								(5) l. m. E. X. B. C. 26.	Brickmaker; at 21, o. relief, 5 y.; 26, petit lar., on bail; soldier in rebellion.	=	f. X.	German; harlot; 1870, o. relief, 4 y.; cohabited with the older brother before his death.	Barren	5
								(6) l. m. E. X. B. C. 24.	At 19, o. relief, 1 y.; 20, c. jail, 30 d., 30 d., 10 d.; vagrant, c. jail; 23, sick, o. relief, 2 y.; married cousin.	×	l. f. E. X. X.	1872, o. relief, 2 y.; good reputation; read and write; industrious.		6
								(7) l. m. E. X. B. C. 23.	Laborer; at 18, o. relief, 1 y.; 20, o. relief, 2 y.; no property; ignorant and boorish; temperate; married third cousin.	×	l. f. C. D. X. 25.	Harlot; had bastard before marriage; read and write; temperate.	b. m. X. 7	7
				(2) l. m. E. X. 57.	At 22, o. relief, 1 y.; 32, o. relief, 1 y.; 36, o. relief, 2 y.; 40, o. relief, 2 y.; 44, breach of peace, c. jail; 47, o. relief, 2 y.; 49, p. house, 1 y.	× f. X.	1849, o. relief, 2 y.; 1853, o. relief, 2 y.; 1857, o. relief, 2 y.; 1864, o. relief, 2 y.	(1) l. f. E. X. X. 26.	At 13, p. house, 1 y.	×	m. X.			8
								(2) l. f. E. X. X. 14.	At 11, p. house, 1 y.; 14, dead	×				9
								(3) l. f. E. X. X. 23.	At 10, p. house, 1 y.; 17, daughter buried, o. relief, 6 y.; married cousin.	=	l. m. E. X. A. X. 31	See Chart II, Gen. 5, line 37, for husband and children.		10
								(4) l. f. E. X. X. 22.	At 9, p. house, 1 y.					11
								(5) l. m. E. X. X. 20.	At 7, p. house, 1 y.					12
								(6) l. f. E. X. X. 17.	Service; at 4, p. house, 1 y.; 17, p. house, harlot, with child.				Bastard child, born 1874, in Newburg alms-house	13
				(3) l. m. E. X. 51.	Basket-maker; at 23, p. house, 1 y.; 24, o. relief, 3 y.; 31, o. relief, 2 y.; 34, o. relief, 1 y.; 38, o. relief, 2 y.; 41, o. relief, 2 y.; 48, c. jail, 5 d., probably vagrancy; no property; lazy; syphilis; intemperate; cannot read or write.	× l. f. X.	1846, o. relief, 2 y.; 1854, o. relief, 2 y.; 1857, o. relief, 1 y.; 1862, o. relief, 2 y.; 1865, o. relief, 2 y.; syphilis; industrious; temperate; no property; read and write.	(1) l. f. E. X. X. 24.	Harlot before marriage; constitutional syphilis; read and write.		l. m. X. 30.	Constitutional syphilis; no property; French Canadian.	4 children	14
								(2) l. m. E. X. X. 22.			f. X.		1 child	15
								(3) l. m. E. X. X. 19.	Soldier in rebellion; industrious; constitutional syphilis; not criminal; read and write.					16
								(4) l. f. E. X. X. 18.	Reputable character	×	m. X.	Served in rebellion	Children	17
								(5) l. f. E. X. X. 15.					18	
								(6) l. f. E. X. X.					19	
				(4) l. f. E. X.	Harlot during marriage; 1840, o. relief, 1 y.; 1842, o. relief, 1 y.; 1844, o. relief, 1 y.; 1846, o. relief, 2 y.; 1862, o. relief, 1 y.; kept brothel; acquired epilepsy; temperate; lazy; married second cousin.	For husband, see Chart II, Gen. 4, line 34						5 legitimate children, 2 bastards, 20	
				(5) l. f. E. X.	Harlot before marriage; one bastard son born by roadside; 1843, o. relief, 1 y.; 1853, o. relief, 2 y.; 1855, p. house, 1 y., probably child born; 1858, o. relief, 1 y.; 1862, o. relief, 1 y.; 1866, o. relief, 1 y.; a licentious vagrant; married second cousin.	For husband, see Chart II, Gen. 4, line 45						2 bastard sons, 4 legitimate children, 3 boys, 1 girl.	
				(6) l. m. E. X. 44.	At 24, o. relief, 3 y.; 28, o. relief, 1 y.; 30, o. relief, 1 y.; 33, assault and battery, forfeits bail; 34, o. relief, 1 y.; 42, p. house, 1 y.; no property; habitual drunkard.	× f. X.	1854, o. relief, 3 y.; 1858, o. relief, 1 y.; 1860, o. relief, 1 y.; 1864, o. relief, 1 y.; deaf and dumb.	(1) l. E. X. X.	Died young					22	
								(2) l. f. E. X. X. 21.	Harlot; not industrious; no property; temperate; read and write.					23
								(3) l. m. E. X. X. 19.	Not industrious; temperate					24
								(4) l. f. E. X. X. 17.	Harlot; not industrious; no property; temperate; read and write.					25
								(5) l. m. E. X. X. 12.						26
								(6) l. f. E. X. X. 9.						27
								(7) l. m. E. X. X. 6.						28
				(7) f. E. X.		× m. X.	Moved to Prescott, Wis.; soldier in rebellion	6 or 7 children, 1 dead						29

Explanation.

× - Married.
= - - Cohabiting.
o. relief, Out-door relief.
p. house, Poor house.
c. jail - County jail.
bur. - Burglary.
S. Sing. Sing Sing prison.
Alb. Pen., Albany Penit'ary
S. p. - State prison.
y. - Year.
m. - Month.
d. - Day.

All these are qualities essential to any successful career, and the reform of these four men simply shows there is such a thing as interchangeability of careers, the solution of the problem of reform being how a new direction may be given to the activity of the faculties which are employed in a bad one. Indeed, so true is this view believed to be, it is safe to venture the position, that all criminals of sound mind and body who commit crimes of contrivance, and who have not passed the meridian of life, can be reformed if only judicious training is applied in time. Where there is vitality, there morality can be organized and made a constituent part of character.

With criminals, gambling and licentiousness are widely prevalent. Any method which would direct this wasted power into other directions would produce an amended career. The problem amounts to this: given a certain amount of vitality how shall it be expended so that the community shall not suffer injury. If, by training, evil modes should be closed up, not only could the energy be used for other purposes, but it would be so used, for life is activity of some sort, and will assert itself by effort of some kind.

What of the pauper? With him there is less hope, because less vitality, and less impressibility to praise or blame, to example or ambition. There also is almost invariably found licentiousness in some form. Here we have a key to solving some of the difficulties of his case. Virility is a mark of vitality, and sexual licentiousness, when unallied with disease, an index that there is yet vital strength, while reticence is a mark of power, for it indicates the subjection of the passions to the dominion of the will, storing up the vital forces, so to speak, for expenditure in other directions. Hard, continuous labor checks the erotic passion, prevents waste of vitality, tends to decrease its intensity by disuse, and in the course of time may enable the potential pauper to form habits of industry that will have become organized as part of his character, and prove that pauperism can be controlled by controlling the passion which, disease aside, tends more than all other causes put together to perpetuate it hereditarily.

The Formation of Character. — Where there is heredity of any characteristic, it would seem there is a tendency, and it might almost be said, a certainty to produce an environment for the next generation corresponding to that heredity, with the effect of perpetuating it. Where the environment changes in youth the characteristics of heredity are measurably altered.

This brings us to the question of education, and in treating the subject it must be clearly understood, and practically accepted, that the whole question of crime, vice, and pauperism rests strictly and funda-

mentally upon a physiological basis, and not upon a sentimental or a metaphysical one. These phenomena take place not because there is any aberration in the laws of nature, but in consequence of the operation of these laws; because disease, because unsanitary conditions, because educational neglects, produce arrest of cerebral development at some point, so that the individual fails to meet the exigencies of the civilization in which he finds himself placed, and that the cure for unbalanced lives is a training which will affect the cerebral tissue, producing a corresponding change of career. This process of atrophy, physical and social, is to be met by methods that will remove the disabilities which check the required cerebral growth, or, where the modification to be induced is profound, by the cumulative effect of training through successive generations, under conditions favorable to such strengthening.

We have seen that disease in the parent will produce idiocy in the child; this is arrest of cerebral development. That it will produce early death; this is arrest of development. Beside these, arrest of development takes place in various other forms, at different stages and under widely differing circumstances. Excess of the passions prevents mental organization, and neglected childhood even, produces the equivalent of arrest of development; for, as in the case of the idiot, the arrest of cerebral development is caused by want of alimentary nutrition to the brain; so in the untaught child we get arrest of cerebral development caused by neglecting to furnish properly organized experience of the right relations of human beings to each other, which gives us a corresponding moral idiot. Men do not become moral by intuition.

Indeed, the whole process of education is the building up of cerebral cells. For the purpose of a concise explanation, it may be said that there are four great subdivisions of the nervous system, each one of which presides over, co-ordinates and controls a separate set of functions. 1. The ganglionic nervous centers which connect the heart, lungs and internal viscera with each other and with the brain, bringing them into sympathetic action. 2. The spinal chord, which chiefly presides over the movements of the limbs and body. 3. The sensational centers, which register the impressions gathered by the senses. 4. The ideational centers, that enable us to reason, to think, to will, and, with this last, the moral nature. The ganglionic centers are, in a certain sense, subordinate to the spinal nerve centers; these, in their turn, are subordinate to the sensory centers; and these last are subordinate to the controlling action of the hemispheres of the brain, "and, especially to the action of the will, which, properly fashioned, represents the governing power of the voluntary actions." * While the

* Maudsley, Physiology and Pathology of the Mind, pp. 54, 55.

mind is the last in order of development, it is the first in importance, and "instead of mind being a wondrous entity, the independent source of power and self-sufficient cause of causes, an honest observation proves incontestably that it is the most dependent of all natural forces. It is the highest development of force, and to its existence all the lower natural forces are indispensably prerequisite."* This all-important will does not usually reach its full growth till between the thirtieth to the thirty-third years, and "is entirely dependent for its outward realization upon that mechanism of automatic action which is gradually organized in the subordinate centers — the cultivation of the senses are necessary antecedents to the due formation and operation of the will."† We must therefore distinctly accept as an established educational axiom, that the moral nature — which really means the holding of the emotions and passions under the dominion of the judgment by the exercise of will — is the last developed of the elements of character, and, for this reason, is most modifiable by the nature of the environment.

Leaving this branch of the inquiry we now come to the consideration of some of the English experience in the study of crime which bears on this question. Neilson,‡ classifying the total male population of England and Wales so as to divide them into successive terms of life as follows, from 10 to 15, from 15 to 20, from 20 to 25, from 25 to 30, from 30 to 40, from 40 to 50, from 50 to 60, found that age affected the tendency to crime in a remarkable degree. The maximum proportion of male criminals he found between the ages of 20 and 25, where the percentage of crime, as compared to the total male population of the same age, is .77.02 per cent, while, between 50 and 60, the percentage to total population of the same age is only .16.94 per cent. That the same law holds good for women, but in different ratios, and that the tendency to crime at each successive term of life above enumerated decreases from 20 years at the rate of 33.333 per cent for males and 25 per cent for females. Now this gradual decrease is precisely what might be expected from the operation of the law of cerebral developement above explained. From 15 to 20 the emotions and sensations are more active proportionately than they are at a later age. It is not that temptation is stronger, but that the will has not yet become fully organized, and, therefore, fails to govern the conduct. The formation of the character up to this time has been largely through precept and example; experience has not yet come to teach, in its fullness, that a present self-denial may lead to a future greater advantage. But after twenty the formation of the character depends more upon experience, for the

* Id., 60. † Id., 92, 93. ‡ F. G. P. Neilson, Vital Statistics, p. 404.

man of 25 does not find the same excuse granted for his misdeeds that the lad of 20 did; the will begins to be organized under what might be called social compulsion so as to become an efficient factor in conduct, and as it gradually strengthens by wider experience, the grown man sees the short-sighted policy of a criminal career, and accommodates himself to social requirements.

This demonstrates that the natural process of the development of nerve tissue is a spontaneous and enormous force, capable of assisting in the work of reforming vicious and criminal lives. So long as there is growth, there can you produce change. Per contra, wherever you can change the environment so that the sensations, the experience, the habit of steady attention become automatic, you have at your disposal the means by which this will can be so developed, organized and made steady, that it can serve as a guide and as a restraint in the future career of the person so transferred to new environment. Here is the probable explanation of the spontaneous reform of criminals whose cases are recited above. In spite of early training which was vicious, in spite of our penal servitude, which is execrable, and not in consequence of it, we find that the disadvantages of criminal life have been weighed against the advantages of liberty and good repute, and a new course adopted without any adventitious encouragement from reformatory institutions. The law would seem to be that development is in the direction of least resistance. Hence the value of good environment and the power of skillful training which removes obstacles to sound physical and mental organization and, to an extent, artificially contrives to open up the direction of least resistance in the channel of the established laws of social order.

But the statistical proof of a steady decrease of crime among males of 33 per cent for every term after 20 years of age, which, it has just been argued, is accounted for by the growth of the will up to maturity, does not account for the decrease after that time. The facts collected in this report show that, as life wanes, the tendency is to pauperism, which is only another word for decrease of activity; and we have seen that the essential characteristic of aggressive crime is vitality; thus we get a gradual substitution of careers, from the criminal to the non-criminal, thence to the pauper, which glide into each other in so natural and steady a procession, that the ratio of decrease in crime, according to the successive terms, is steadily continued to the end of life.

We must not lose sight of a very important element in this connection. Although we have very little positive knowledge of the death rate among criminals, we do know that fatal diseases are much more prevalent among them than with the average of men, and the large number of orphans in their ranks indicate how large a proportion of

them are short lived by inheritance. But this inherited brevity of life and this diseased condition, we have already found, were merely the pysiological aspect of what we call pauperism in its social aspect, and is merely the terminal point of a long succession of stages in the career of mendicancy. We may say, therefore, for convenience, that the ratio of decrease in crime at successive periods is affected by death, pauperism and reform, the order of importance which these play being as herein stated.

Intermittent industry.—The most conspicuous and uniformly noticeable trait of the true criminal is that he lacks the element of continuity, of effort. Steady, plodding work, which is the characteristic not only of honest and successful individuals, but also of all nations that have made a mark in history, is deficient in him, and needs to be organized as a constituent of his character.

It has already been said that Max was "a hunter and a fisher," and in his industrial habits he is not only the type of his descendants, but the organizer of their unfavorable condition. The great mass of them are of the grade of laborers, engaged in what may be called intermittent industries. Of the whole number of men, not 20 are skilled workmen, and of these, 10 have learned their trades in State prison. Now the industries in which the bulk of this population are engaged leave from three to four months of idle time during the most inclement season of the year. The natural result is, they fall into habits of idleness, rely upon town help to get them through the winter, or take to tramping. This fluctuating state is full of all sorts of dangers to those who are exposed to it, and tends to perpetuate the social condition of the Jukes, which leads us to consider the question of industrial training.

Industrial training.—Having reviewed the evidence collected, it may be well, perhaps, to draw some conclusions upon the methods to be employed in stemming the stream of vice and crime, which year by year grows broader, deeper and more threatening.

We have seen that disease produces a deadening effect upon the moral sense, that intemperance is a vice growing largely out of some form of waning vitality, actual or potential; that pauperism is also largely owing to the same process, and that the career of the criminal frequently begins and ends in the poor-house, the middle of life, when the vitality is strongest, being spent in depredations upon the community. Behind all this, and in a certain sense ante-dating it, we find fornication, swiftly followed by diseases that undermine the vital force and literally produce idleness in some shape, which is fortified by the cessation of work, so that both surroundings and proclivities are emmulative. Now, the direct effect of idleness upon human beings is, that the

vital force having ceased to be expended in labor, must find another mode of activity, and the one which presents itself as the most alluring is sexual excess, which propitiates premature decay in various forms of disease, the latter bringing in their train a condition of pauperism.

The argument for early marriage in a previous portion of this report is strengthened by the fact that marriage brings with it the cares and obligations of rearing the family, and this is labor both physical and mental, which has a salutary effect in this respect upon women as well as upon men.

In the training of certain idiots, one of the greatest impediments in changing their condition is found in the sexual orgasms to which they are addicted, the practice of which perpetuates their idiotic condition. Now the first step in the improvement of this class is to check their vice, and the main reliance in this respect is occupation for the mind and limbs, medication being only an auxiliary. In the institutions for the training of these unfortunate beings they are constrained to activity of some kind, their inert limbs are made to move, sometimes by the nurse, sometimes by some mechanical contrivance which compels the flexion of the limbs, and their senses are gradually developed by having them arbitrarily exercised in an appropriate way to the object to be attained. The result of this close and continuous turning of their attention to objects of the external world, educates what little they possess of mind and produces fatigue, so that, when they are laid down, they fall to sleep at once without chance of sexual abandonment. It is the duty of the nurse to make sure of that each evening, and to be ready to occupy the patient the moment he wakes in the morning. Without this there is no cure. The lesson is, that the expenditure of the vital force in the direction of industry, subtracts just so much from sexual indulgence and reduces it to healthy periodicity.

The direct effect, therefore, of industrial training is to curb licentiousness, the secondary effect to decrease the craving for alcoholic stimulants, and reduce the number of illegitimate children who will grow up uncared for. It will also cause the gradual appearance of new sets of wants which will express themselves in a higher standard of living, and concomitantly promote the habits of industry which will enable those wants to be satisfied. In this way the log huts and hovels, which now form hot beds where human maggots are spawned, will disappear. In their stead will be erected houses that will admit of separate sleeping apartments for the sexes, the mental attributes will gradually develop, æsthetic tastes take the place of debauchery, and a new social equilibrium be established.

The great problem is, how is this change to be effected? In the first place, we have seen what a powerful agency is environment in determin-

ing the career, therefore, any child of criminal parents should be withdrawn from the influence of such a home, and the younger the child, after it is weaned, the better the chances of success. In the second place, the family is the fundamental type of social organization, and, as we found it was necessary to take the family in its successive generations as the proper basis for a study of our subject, so have we found, in those cases where the established order of society has spontaneously produced amended lives, that the family hearth has formed the essential point of departure.* Accepting this, then, as a lesson and a model, any institution that proposes to deal with the reformation of delinquents must adopt some scheme which shall embody this fundamental relationship. Remember that love of home and pride in it are two of the most powerful motives in preventing vagrancy, and in organizing an environment that shall perpetuate these essential domestic sentiments.

Condemning the congregate system as inadequate to inspire these sentiments, the next question is, what is industrial training? When that term is used, much more is meant than formal instruction in a trade. It is contemplated that, in a properly ordered scheme of reformation, something like general training of the faculties must be provided for. Our reform schools must inform and develop the senses of touch, hearing, sight, smell and taste, so that the mind shall be filled with the knowledge of things, instead of being left vacant of every thing except a memorizing of words. With the use of the faculties will gradually be developed varieties of emotion and intelligence, which, tending to activities in their own direction, will reorganize the career of the individual so that criminal or vicious courses will be supplanted by automatic virtue.

Every reformatory should take for its model of school training, either the kindergarten education or the method of object lessons, or some modification of these which is practicable, for the youth of this class, if not moral imbeciles, are moral infants. The advantage of the kindergarten instruction rests in this, that it coherently trains the senses and awakens the spirit of accountability, building up cerebral tissue. It thus organizes new channels of activity through which vitality may spread itself for the advantage of the individual and the benefit of society, and concurrently endows each individual with a governing will. Such an energetic, judicious and thorough training of the children of our criminal population would, in fifteen years, show itself by the great decrease in the number of commitments.

The results of training, above recited, are not to be found in the ordinary reformatories conducted upon the congregate system, and are still less to be found in our penal and correctional institutions for

*See cases 3, 6, 30, 31.

adult offenders. Indeed, so conspicuous is the failure of the entire machinery of the punitive and reformatory institutions of our State, that we cannot call these establishments the results of the wisdom of our generation, but rather the cumulative accidents of popular negligence, indifference and incapacity. The examination of the jails to which your committee has been assigned, has profoundly shaken his faith in any mere institution as an agent in the reform of the erring. It is with this conviction I feel prompted to say, that the chief reliance must not be placed upon institutions of any kind, whether voluntary or State, for the tendency of such is to break down the spirit of independence and self-reliance of their inmates, and these are most potent motives in making a man care for himself.

I now have in mind an extensive employer of labor, whose works are near the original settlement of the Juke family, and who employs several members of it. His rule is to treat them with firmness and with unvaryingly scrupulous fairness. He never swerves from what he says, and never evades a promise made. This establishes over them an empire that makes them trust him, and when they get into difficulties, they come to him for advice. He acts as their banker, encourages them to save, and in the case of boys from 13 to 15, who have formed acquaintance of licentious women, he interposes his authority and checks their career of licentiousness by establishing a bond of mutual good faith between himself and the offender, the latter promising to discontinue his courses if his former conduct is not reported to his parents. In this way is established a desire for the respect of this employer, and by means of it, an ascendency is gained that tends to check many an incipient crime; but he never lets his relations with them fall into the weakness of patronage. He is school trustee, and where widows depend upon their boys for support, he arranges that they shall work for him, and go to school alternate weeks. He has not taken up this work as a "mission," but strictly as a business man, who, finding himself placed where he must employ the rude laborers of his locality, deals with them on the sound and healthy basis of commercial contract, honestly carried out and rigidly enforced.

It is such a class of employers who are needed to deal with the criminally inclined; men who understand human nature, rightly estimate the lack of social opportunity which encompasses a population of "Jukes," and can make allowances for the shortcomings and frailties of a class who are less evil in nature than they are untrained in conduct. If such prudent persons could be enlisted in the work, they would prove the most efficient of all reformers, because reform would be secured under liberty, the only ultimate test of self-balance.

Having passed in review all the different sections of the subject of

inquiry, we now make generalizations, some tentative, as to the relative influenee of heredity and environment in the shaping of careers.

1. Where the organization is strueturally modified, as in idioey and insanity, or organically weak, as in many diseases, the heredity is the preponderating faetor in determining the eareer, bnt it is, even then, capable of marked modification for better or worse by the eharaeter of the environment. In other words, capacity, physical and mental, is limited and determined mainly by heredity. This is probably because these eerebral conditions are fixed during the period of ante-natal organization.

2. Where the eonduct depends on the knowledge of moral obligation (excluding insanity and idioey), the environment has more influenee than the heredity, beeause the development of the moral attributes is mainly a post-natal and not an ante-natal formation of cerebral eells. The use to which capaeity shall be put is largely governed by the impersonal training or agency of environment.

3. The tendeney of heredity is to produee an environment which perpetuates that heredity: thus, the lieentious parent makes an example whieh greatly aids in fixing habits of debauehery in the child. The correction is ehange of environment. For instance, where hereditary kleptomania exists, if the environment should be sueh as to beeome an exeiting eause, the individual will be an ineorrigible thief; but if, on the contrary, he be protected from temptation, that individual may lead an honest life, with some chanees in favor of the entailment stopping there.

4. Environment tends to prodnee habits which may beeome hereditary, espeeially so in pauperism and lieentiousness, if it should be sufficiently eonstant to produee modifieation of cerebral tissue.

If these conclusions are eorreet, then the whole question of the eontrol of erime and pauperism beeome possible, within wide limits, if the neeessary training can be made to reaeh over two or three generations.

5. From the above eonsiderations the logieal induetion seems to be, that environment is the ultimate controlling faetor in determining careers, plaeing heredity itself as an organized result of environment. The permanenee of aneestral types is only another demonstration of the fixity of the environment within limits which neeessitate the development of typal eharacteristics.

The details given of the Juke family take in only a fraetion of the domain of investigation into crime, its eause and eure. The essential characteristics of the group are great vitality, ignoranee and poverty. They have never had a training whieh would bring into activity the æsthetic tastes, the habit of reasoning, or indeed a desire for the ordinary comforts of a well-ordered home. They are not an exceptional class of people: their like, and it may perhaps be added with truth,

extensive families, their like, may be found in every county in this State, It is for this reason that an exhaustive analysis of this particular family becomes valuable, because the inductions drawn from their careers are applicable to a numerous and widely disseminated class who need to be reached by similar agencies.

The study here presented is largely tentative, and care should be taken that the preliminary generalizations announced be not applied indiscriminately to the general questions of crime and pauperism, for we are here dealing mainly with blood relations living in a similar environment, physical, social and governmental, in whom the order of events noted may be hereditary characteristics peculiar to themselves, and not of universal and unvarying recurrence.

It, however, opens the way and supplies the method for a study of other classes of cases, supplementing and complementing it by other distinctive categories which present a different point of departure, whether it be the progeny of influential landed proprietors who lose their estates and fall into crime, or the children of people of culture and refinement who become felons; or again, of the converse of these, of children whose parents were criminals, and yet have re-entered the ranks of the reputable.

Different kinds of crime need special study. Thus, crimes of contrivance in their various forms, as burglary, embezzlement; crimes of education, as forgery; crimes of brutality, as malicious mischief and murder; crimes of cunning, as pocket-picking, false pretenses; crimes of weakness, crimes of debauchery, crimes of ambition, crimes of riches, crimes of disease. Pauperism also needs a series, and this and crime need to be compared to each other, and, respectively, to a third series, investigating the growth and permanence of generations morally developed. The study of crime thus pursued would give us a classified variety of characters, conditions and tendencies covering gradations so perfectly distributive that we could take any typical case, follow from this as a central point in any direction and note the shades of change which lead to other typical cases and so get a right conception of the continuity and essential unity of sociological phenomena, and, perhaps, discover a law of social equivalents.

Such a series as is here indicated would form a body of evidence which would furnish data enabling us to pronounce judgment upon any scheme put forth to counteract the increase of crime, and supplant the empirical method now in vogue, by one of exact and well founded laws, derived from a patient and extensive study of the phenomena involved.

These views are sustained in a paper read at Cincinnati, October 12, 1870, before the National Congress on Penitentiary and Reformatory Discipline, by Sig. M. Beltrani-Scalia, inspector of prisons in Italy.

Asking, what is crime in those who commit it, he says: "As I understand this question, until we shall have studied crime in its perpetrators and in all its relations and different aspects, we will never be able to discover the best means to prevent or correct it, nor can we say that penitentiary science has made any great progress." After reviewing the history of penitentiary reform for the last fifty years, he adds: "The study of the prisoner is the greatest need still felt after so many years of toil and debate. We have just reached that point where we should have commenced, because, after so much labor, we have only reached an empty space."

Having discussed the details of the subject under different headings, the various parts are here presented (table XI). In this statistical aggregate, the line headed "Marriageable Age," will give, very nearly, the number of adults in each generation; girls of 14 and boys of 18 are included under that heading.

In taking a final and general survey of the entire progeny of the group of sisters who were the mothers of this lineage, and contrasting the illegitimate branches, which show both greater vigor, absence of disease, and large preponderance of crime, with certain legitimate branches which are distinctively pauper, debauched, and specifically diseased, it is incontestable that the criminal branches are decidedly more amenable to reform than are their pauper half-brothers or cousins, who are plunged in a condition so abject that, at points along the line of entailment, it may be said to be irreclaimable.

Passing now from the actual record we make an estimate of the entire family, based on what is known of those whose lives have been learned. The total number of persons included in the foregoing statement reach 709; besides these, 125 additional names have been gathered since the text of this report was prepared, whose general character is similar. If all the collateral lines which have not been traced could be added to the 709 here tabulated, the aggregate would reach at least 1,200 persons, living and dead. Now, out of 700 persons we have 180 who have either been to the poor-house or received out-door relief to the extent of 800 years. Allowing that the best members of the family have emigrated, it would be a low estimate to say that 80 of the additional 500 are, or have been, dependents, adding 350 years to the relief, making an aggregate of 280 persons under panper training, receiving 1,150 years of public charity. Great as this is, it is not all. In a former portion of this report, it was stated the panper records cover 255 years, of which only 64 years could be consulted, the difficulties of getting the remaining 191 years being, in most cases, insuperable. Allowing that these 191 years would yield as many years of relief as the 64 which have actually been searched, we should have an aggregate

TABLE XI—Statistical Summary of the "Jukes."

	Total number in generation.	Parentage by Sex.			Marriage Relations.							Barren persons.	Kept brothels.	Syphilis.	Property.		Pauperism.				Crime.		
		Total each sex.	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.	Marriageable age.	Unmarried adults.	Married.	Had bastards before mar'ge.	Had bastards after marriage.	Prostitutes.	Unascertained.				Acquired.	Lost.	Out-door relief, No. persons.	No. of years.	Alms-house, No. persons.	No. of years.	No. of persons.	No. of years.	No. of offenses.
2d Gen. Juke women	5	5	1	....	5	..	5	3	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
X men	5	5	2	....	5	..	5	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
3d Gen. Juke women	34	16	15	1	16	2	13	1	1	3	1	5	..	..	1	....	3	20	2	2	....	....	....
X women	16	7	3	....	7	..	4	..	..	3	1	....	....	..	....	....	1	23	....	....	....	....	....
Juke men	....	18	12	6	18	..	11	..	..	4	5	4	....	1	4	1	6	54	3	6	1	....	1
X men	....	9	....	2	9	..	5	..	..	4	....	....	....	1	1	1	2	14	3	5	2	3	2
4th Gen. Juke women	117	46	38	....	39	6	26	6	8	12	....	3	5	12	1	....	18	122	7	7	5	1	7
X women	....	25	6	1	25	..	15	3	..	4	6	4	1	7	....	....	8	53	3	3	2	½	2
Juke men	....	57	46	3	54	5	22	..	..	4	23	7	1	6	5	3	19	129	8	12	12	11	15
X men	59	34	5	1	34	..	19	..	..	15	....	1	3	2	2	1	11	50	3	3	10	13	11
5th Gen. Juke women	224	119	94	17	90	10	37	6	3	36	7	5	5	25	....	....	24	100	12	18	9	¼	15
X women	....	33	4	2	33	..	15	2	1	14	4	4	..	2	....	....	11	49	2	4	1	¼	1
Juke men	....	102	70	20	69	14	21	..	..	12	22	7	....	7	5	1	25	87	11	21	18	72	41
X men	84	51	11	3	51	..	26	..	..	14	11	6	2	4	3	1	14	33	....	..	12	8	16
6th Gen. Juke women	152	63	33	13	12	8	2	2	..	2	....	....	1	..	....	....	....	....	3	8	2	½	2
X women	....	2	....	....	1	..	1	1	.	....	1	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Juke men	....	48	27	20	2	1	1	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	7	7	2	6½	2
X men	5	3	....	....	3	..	2	..	..	1	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....
7th Gen. Juke women	8	3	1	2	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Juke men	....	....	....	....	....	..	....	..	..	....	....	....	....	..	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
Tot. Gen. Juke women	....	252	182	33	162	26	83	18	12	53	8	13	11	37	1	....	45	242	24	35	16	1¾	24
X women	....	67	13	3	67	..	35	6	1	21	12	8	1	9	....	....	20	125	5	7	3	¾	3
Juke men	....	225	155	49	143	20	55	..	..	20	50	18	1	14	14	5	50	270	29	46	33	89¾	59
X men	....	102	18	6	102	..	57	..	..	34	11	7	5	7	7	3	27	97	6	8	24	24	29
Juke blood	540	477	337	82	305	46	138	18	12	73	58	31	12	51	15	5	95	512	53	81	49	91½	83
X blood	169	169	31	9	169	..	92	6	1	55	23	15	6	16	7	3	47	222	11	15	27	24¾	32
Grand total	709	645	368	91	474	46	230	24	13	128	81	46	18	67	22	8	142	734	64	96	76	116	115

of 2,300 years of relief. Allowing 150 years of alms-house life at $100 a year, the sum expended equals $15,000, and for 2,150 years of out-door relief, at the moderate rate of $15 a year, $32,250, making an aggregate expenditure of $47,250 in 75 years for this single family, 52 per cent of whose women are harlots in some degree. Making a like computation for the other items of the schedule, allowing for all contingencies, the estimate may be thus summed up:

		Cost.
Total number of persons	1,200	.....
Number of pauperized adults	280	.....
Cost of alms-house relief	....	$15,000.00
Cost of out-door relief	....	32,250.00
Number of criminals and offenders	140	.....
Years of imprisonment	140	.....
Cost of maintenance, at $200 a year	....	28,000.00
Number of arrests and trials	250	.....
Cost of arrests and trials, $100 each	....	25,000.00
Number of habitual thieves, convicted and unconvicted	60	.....
Number of years of depredation, at 12 years each	720	.....
Cost of depredation, $120 a year	....	86,400.00
Number of lives sacrificed by murder	7	.....
Value, at $1,200 each	....	8,400.00
Number of common prostitutes	50	.....
Average number of years of debauch	15	.....
Total number of years of debauch	750	.....
Cost of maintaining each per year	$300.00	.....
Cost of maintenance	....	225,000.00
Number of women specifically diseased	40	.....
Average number of men each women contaminates with permanent disease,	10	.....
Total number of men contaminated	400	.....
Number of wives contaminated by above men	40	.....
Total number of persons contaminated	440	.....
Cost of drugs and medical treatment during rest of life, at $200 each	....	88,000.00
Average loss of wages caused by disease during rest of life, in years	3	.....
Total years of wages lost by 400 men	1,200	.....
Loss, at $500 a year	....	600,000.00
Average number of years withdrawn from productive industry by each courtezan	10	.....
Total number of years lost by 50 courtezans	500	.....
Value estimated at $125 a year	....	62,500.00
Aggregate curtailment of life of 490 adults, equivalent to 50 mature individuals	50	.....
Cash cost, each life at $1,200	....	60,000.00
Aggregate of children who died prematurely	300	.....
Average years of life of each child	2	.....
Cash cost, each child at $50	....	15,000.00
Number of prosecutions in bastardy	30	.....
Average cost of each case, $100	....	3,000.00
Cost of property destroyed, blackmail, brawls *	....	20,000.00
Average capital employed in houses, stock, furniture, etc., for brothels	....	6,000.00
Compound interest for 26 years at 6 per cent	....	18,000.00
Charity distributed by church	....	10,000.00
Charity obtained by begging	....	5,450.00
Total	....	$1,308,000.00

* One house, with furniture worth $1,100, was burned by a mob.

Over a million and a quarter dollars of loss in 75 years, caused by a single family 1,200 strong, without reckoning the cash paid for whisky, or taking into account the entailment of pauperism and crime of the survivors in the next generation, and the incurable disease, idiocy and insanity growing out of this debauchery, and reaching into the third and fourth generation. It is getting to be time to ask, do our courts, our laws, our alms-houses and our jails deal with the question presented?

FURTHER STUDIES OF CRIMINALS,

STATE PRISON CONVICTS.

The State of New York has enacted thirty statutes or parts of statutes which relate to the collection, accuracy and preservation of the statistics of crime, the administration of criminal justice, the finances of penal institutions, the identification of the criminal classes, and the indenture, conduct and fate of minors who have been placed in reformatories. There are at least nineteen distinct classes of officers upon whom is imposed some part of the duty of making these returns correct, or of preserving them when they are reported to the proper officers according to the provisions of law. Before making an examination of the convicts in the prisons of this State, which was ordered by resolution of the Association June 24, 1875, it was thought advisable to examine the statistics which the law has made such elaborate provisions to collect, so that the inquiry might rest upon postulates indicating the right direction of study and establish standards for the comparisons of associated facts. For his purpose, the registers of State prisons and penitentiaries, the returns of county magistrates, the records of jails and of county clerks, and the archives of the Secretary of State have been examined, only to find that nothing exists sufficiently reliable to serve in the study of crime or the movements of the crime classes, and that a beginning must be made from the foundation. The provisions of the law itself are so incongruous, that no just comparisons can be instituted even if every officer should make an exact return according to the statute, for the schedules differ widely, the reports are made to different officers, so that they are not gathered into one central office, and the responsibility for neglecting to make returns is in some cases dubious. Aside from these statutory defects, there are other causes which greatly add to the faultiness of criminal statistics, and may be divided into four general categories: First, the inefficiency of the police; second, the defects in the administration of justice; third, the falsification and defectiveness of the records; and, fourth, public apathy.

Under the first we have: First, the undetected who commit crimes and evade punishment by covering their iniquities from public knowledge. Among this class may be found defaulters, guardians who appropriate trust funds under forms of law, abortionists, various panderers to vices and receivers of stolen goods, who are protected by the craft because they are crime capitalists. Second, the unarrested who are represented

by those who either have evaded or made terms with the police, or who live in the rural districts where practically no police exists; also, such depredators as private individuals decline to appear against, either from indifferenee, from intimidation, or by compounding their felonies.

Coming under the category of defects in the administration of justice we have: First, the unprosecuted, a very large band who get off either by *nolle prosequi* or by giving straw bail. Second, the unjustly acquitted by sympathising juries or other means. Third, the acceptance of pleas of guilty of a minor offense when a major one has been committed. Fourth, the eonvietions for constructive erime, by giving the evidence against a prisoner an interpretation which allows prosecution for a greater offense than that actually committed, as where robbery from a woman is constrned into attempt at rape. Fifth, the immunity of those who turn State's evidenec against their confederates. In these ways we fail to get at the actual quality of the crime — for in a vast number of eonvietions there has been no trial — we only get the name of certain offenses whieh do not have even the merit of being accurately defined.

As to the defeetiveness and falsification of records, these are very numerous: First, the negleet of eountry justices to transmit duplicate copies of eommitments and finable eases to county clerks, as reqnired by law. In some eounties, not one-fourth of the cases adjudged are reported, and in almost every eounty they are defective. So far is this kind of negligenee carried that we have fonnd men locked up in jail without a *mittimus*. Second, the neglect of many sheriffs to keep jail registers, and the eonsequent inability to make returns to the Secretary of State of all persons committed to the county jail for offenses pnnishable by imprisonment in such prisons. Third, the negleet of county elerks to furnish correet monthly returns of the indictments and sentences in conrts of record to the Seeretary of State. Fourth, the negligence of clerks in transcribing eopies of returns. Fifth, the mutilation of the records of the eourts of reeord, suceessive pages being in some instanees bodily cut out. Sixth, the failure to identify habitual criminals, so that we know absolutely nothing of the proportion of first offenders to habitual criminals. One man, aged forty-one, who figures on the records as committed for second offense, began prison life at seven years of age; has been twice in the house of refuge, once in the juvenile asylum, and altogether sixteen times in prisons of some degree (mostly penitentiary), eaeh time eommitted from New York city. Another, aged seventy-four years, who also appears on the registers of a State prison as committed for second offense, is now serving his seventh consecutive term in the same prison in which this registry is made, the sum of his united sentences amounting to seventeen years. Out of 233 cases examined

79.40 per cent are undoubtedly habitual criminals; of these only twenty-six per cent are registered upon the books as such. Seventh, the falsification of ages, names, nativities, by convicts, to protect themselves in various ways from severe sentences. Boys of sixteen give their ages as nineteen, because they do not want to be sent to the house of refuge; while others of nineteen give their ages as sixteen, because they do. In Buffalo and Albany, offenders give their ages as older, so as to be sent to State prison instead of the Penitentiary, because "you get better food and less work to do;" but in New York city they give ages younger than the facts, preferring to go to Blackwell's Island, "because there you don't work and you get shorter time." Many give false names, because their own is too notorious, or to protect their relations from disgrace, or to save themselves from the odium of appearing on prison registers, resuming their real names on discharge. Eighth, the registering as facts statements made by prisoners which are purely fictions. Thus, under the name "religious training," the convicts figure as Catholic or Protestant, when the most superficial examination demonstrates they are absolutely indifferent to either faith, and equally ignorant of the tenets of both. Under the head "education," many are registered as "read and write" who can only write their name and can hardly spell, while under "social condition" the married are registered as single, those who have never lived in any other than illicit relations are registered as married, and under that ægis are allowed to write letters to their concubines serving sentence in the female prison or in some penitentiary, because the law allows correspondence only between man and wife.

There is therefore every possible variety of error to impair the value of what are called our criminal statistics. Under the circumstances, we can fully appreciate and value the candor of Gen. Francis A. Walker when he says, in his preface to the Statistics of Crime and Pauperism in United States Census for 1870:* "The results are now submitted with the remark, that neither the statements of crime nor those of pauperism *for the year* are regarded as possessing any high degree of statistical authority." * * * Although "the numbers reported respectively as receiving poor support and as in prison *on the 1st of June*, 1870, are regarded as quite accurately determined."

In view of these facts, it was found necessary to make a tentative examination of the prisoners themselves to get at some approximately correct data which might serve in the study of crime character, crime causes and the unfolding of crime careers. The numbers who have been examined, however, are too few to be accepted as finally conclusive

* Vol. 1, Social Statistics, p. 567.

statistics upon the subject, but they prove how entirely practicable it is to get quite trustworthy information on a very wide range of inquiries covering the entire life of the individual, and on many points respecting his parentage and his relations. To test to its fullest extent the possibility of gathering such material, the following schedule was used in the examinations intrusted to your committee:

SCHEDULE USED IN THE EXAMINATION OF CONVICTS.

I. *Parental Antecedents.*

1. Parents consanguineous..... What degree? .....

2. Family, example of .....father...	....Mother.
Temperate	
Industrious	
Property	
Lost	
Chaste	
Debauched	
Pauper	
Criminal	
Trade	
Education	
Religious	
Age	
Disease	
Died	
Resembles	

3. Criminal..... Uncles..... Uncles.
" ..... Aunts ..... Aunts.
" ..... Cousins..... Cousins.

II. *Personal History.*

4. Legitimate birth..... 5. Color..... 6. Age..... 7. Single.....
8. Married..... 9. Divorced..... 10. Widowed..... 11. Illicit relation.....
12. Number of children ..... Boys..... Girls..... Legitimate.....
Illegitimate .. .. Age.....
13. Homeless childhood .....
Abandoned by father ..... Mother.....
By death of father..... Mother.....
By imprisonment of father ..... Mother.....
By pauperism of father ..... Mother.....
14. Was other guardian provided..... 15. Was it a kinsman.....
A stranger..... An institution.....
16. Character of guardian.....
17. How many brothers and sisters ..... 18. Their order of birth?
(1.)..... (2.)..... (3.).....
(4.)..... (5.)..... (6.).....
(7.)..... (8.)..... (9.).....
(10.)..... (11.)..... (12.).....

III. *Pauperism.*

19. What form..... Poor-house..... O. relief..... Vagrancy.....
20. At what age .....
21. How long .....
22. How home got unfixed..... By death of.....
Abandonment of..... Imprisonment of.....
Want of work..... Loss of property.....

IV. *Industrial Training.*

23. Industrious..... 24. Lazy..... 25. Apprenticed.....
26. Served....years. 27. Trade..... 28. Profession.....
29. Fully learned..... 30. Why not?.....
31. How much time lost since? ..... 32. Use of spare time.....
33. Character of companions..... 34. Where he met them.....
35. How many since convicted?..... State prison.....
36. Ever in army..... Kept rum shop..... 37. Or brothel.....

V. *Education.*

38. Read ..... 39. Write ..... 40. Cypher.....
41. Common school ..... Years..... Truant.....
42. Higher education..... Its degree.....
43. Accomplishments..... 44. Intelligence.....
45. Useful knowledge..... 46. Ignorant..... 47. Stolid.....

VI. *Religious Training and Moral Traits.*

48. Moral sense..... 49. Realizes criminal nature of offense committed .....
50. Acknowledges obligations to Divine law .....
51. What denomination?..... 52. Dominant traits.....

VII. *Physical and Mental Characteristics.*

53. General health..... 54. Constitutional temperament.....
55. Appearance of countenance..... Head .....
Skin..... Eyes.....
Posture ..... Gait .....
56. Blind..... Deaf and dumb..... Malformed..... Injured.....
Insane..... Paralyzed..... Mentally defective.....
57. Description..... 58. Cause..... 59. Consequence.....
60. Age when first symptoms appeared .....
61. General feebleness of mind.....
62. " " " body .....
63. Moral perversion, leading to morbid practices .....
64. What practices.....
65. Diseases—Nervous... Chorea... Epilepsy... Insomnia... Hallucinations...
.....

Other diseases—Constitutional.....
" Respiratory system.....
" Circulatory system.....
" Nutritive system.....
" Osseous system.....
" Generative and urinary organs.....

66. Is it hereditary.....

VIII. *Vices.*

67. Gambling..... 68. Opium habit.....
69. Prostitution..... First time.....
70. How habit began.....
71. Inebriety, occasional..... Periodical..... Habitual.....
72. At what age was habit begun..... Fixed..... How long.....
73. Its effects.....

IX. *Property.*

74. Inherited property..... When.....
75. Acquired " ..... When.....
76. Lost " ..... When.....
77. How.....

Prisoner's name.....
Offense.....
Prison Register No..... List No.....
Prison (penitentiary.....187

X. *Addresses.*

NAME.	State.	County.	Township.	City.	Street.
Where born.....					
Where residing.....					
Crime, where committed...					
Where tried.....					
Person injured.....					
Best friend.....					
Worst enemy.....					
Family physician.....					
Birth-place, father.....					
Birth-place, mother.....					
Criminal haunts.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
.....					
Came to United States.....					

XI. *Criminal History.*

78. First seduction into culpable offense, what age?.....
79. What necessity led to it?.....
80. What temptation or agency?.....
81. What vice or passion?.....
82. What disease?.....
83. Out of employment?..... Sick.....

84. What was the offense?.....
85. First trial, at what age? ..... Acquitted.....
86. Innocent..... .... Guilty .....
87. By what influence?.....
88. What necessity led to it?.....
89. What temptation or agency? .....
90. What vice or passion? .....
91. Aggregate number of offenses before first trial.....
92. Total number arrests .....
93. Indictments pending.....

XII. *Criminal Status.*

94. First offender..... .. 95. Habitual criminal.....
96. Contriver of crime ..... 97. What kind?.....
98. At what age?..... 99. On what scale? .....

XIII. *Reformation.*

100. Probability of reform.....
101. By what means? .....
102. Needs guidance .....
103. Needs industrial training .....

XIV. *Criminal Commerce.*

104. Mode of business.. .....
.....
105. How was property disposed of? ... .
106. What is its aggregate value? .....
107. Aggregate booty .....
108. Aggregate offenses during career.....
109. Largest steal .....

XV. *Table of Convictions.*

CRIME.	When committed.	Article stolen.	Value.	Instrument.	Age of woman.	Sentence.	
						Prison.	Time.
First..	....	.....	... ..	.. ..	....	... .	.....
Second	....	.....	... ..	.....	.....	.....	. . ...
Third.....	... .	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Fourth..... .	. .....	.....	.....	.....	. .....	....	.....
Fifth.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Sixth	.....	....	.. ...	.....	.....	.....	.....
Seventh.....	.....	....	.....	.....	.....	....	... ...
Eighth.....	....	.....	.....	... .	.....	.....	.....
Ninth.....	.....	.....	.....	... .	. .....	.....	.....
Tenth..	.....	.....	.....	....	.....	. . ....	.....
Eleventh..	....	....	.....	.....	.. ..	... .	.....
Twelfth.....	.....	... .	.....	....	.....	.....	.....

When this schedule was first used in the State prisons, your committee was greatly discouraged by officials whose long acquaintance with criminals led them to believe that it would be impossible to get any correct information from the convicts. Indeed, so persistent were the

representations that criminals would rather lie than tell the truth, that your committee adopted as a policy the method of informing each convict that if any question asked involved an answer he did not wish to make, he might decline without having his reasons for so doing questioned. In addition, and as a test of accuracy and before credit was given to the statements thus made, the statements of a certain number of convicts were verified by entering into correspondence with the officers of a number of institutions, with members of the local committees of this Association, and with the police of different cities. The result of these inquiries has been substantially to yield a useful study in human nature and to relieve the criminal class from an aspersion which it does not deserve. The most prominent fact which was thus discovered was, that criminals as a class do not falsify the truth, except when they hope to gain something they desire, to hide something they fear, or to conceal some fact about themselves of which they are ashamed, in which respects they do not materially differ from the rest of the community. Upon matters which they consider indifferent, their answers are as accurate as their knowledge extends, but on the questions relating to the number of their commitments or offenses, they declined to answer in a number of cases, substantially admitting they were habitual criminals, and confessing the preponderating crime they practice. Another class of answers which it was impossible to reach, and about which only indirect questions were asked, was that relating to the good name of the mother and sisters. In only two cases have the convicts acknowledged the bad repute of their mothers, and in both cases it was given voluntarily. In both cases also does it turn out that the men were serving terms for rape and seemed to have absolutely no sense of honor about women, one of them being almost an imbecile.

THE STATISTICAL RESULTS.

At Auburn 152 males and one female were examined, at Sing Sing ninety-two males and six females, a total of 251 persons. Of this number eighteen have been totally rejected and a portion of the schedules in 100 others has also been thrown out. It is for this reason that the following tables do not balance exactly in every item. They are here given as presenting a certain number of ascertained facts respecting those persons who were examined. They must not be accepted as a basis to reason on as to the relative frequency of different offenses, or to compute any ratios on any of the points they contain to be accepted as applicable to the criminal class in general, because the numbers are insufficient, because they only include State prison offenders, excluding those in penitentiaries and common jails, and because they apply to only two State prisons (Sing Sing and Auburn),

the effect of transferring convicts from these to Clinton being equivalent to the selection of certain ages and classes of convicts, so that a true average cannot be found in any one prison.

TABLE I — Burglary.

Sane, 39 — *Neurotic Heritage*,* 9 — *Total*, 48.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.*	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected children.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	16	3	**19**	....	10	17	2	8	2	8	5	4	5	8	9	1	18
Not orphans	23	6	....	**29**	18	23	6	7	8	8	11	12	5	14	9	7	21
Neglected children	23	5	10	18	**28**	24	3	13	5	11	12	9	8	10	12	2	24
Habitual criminals	34	6	17	23	24	**40**	....	15	9	12	15	16	5	17	16	6	33
First offenders	5	3	2	6	3	..	**8**	....	1	4	1	....	5	5	2	2	6
Refuge boys	12	3	8	7	13	15	....	**15**	2	6	6	5	2	3	7	1	13
Criminal family	6	4	2	8	5	9	1	2	**10**	4	4	3	...	4	2	2	7
Pauper stock	11	5	8	8	11	12	4	6	4	**16**	8	5	4	3	6	3	12
Intemperate family	11	5	5	11	12	15	1	6	4	8	**16**	11	2	3	5	1	10
Habitual drunkards	12	4	4	12	9	16	....	5	2	5	11	**16**	...	7	6	8	8
Temperate	7	3	5	5	8	5	5	2	....	4	2	....	**10**	2	5	1	7
Reformable	20	2	8	14	10	17	5	3	4	3	3	7	2	**22**	....	3	18
Hopeless	13	5	9	9	12	16	2	7	2	6	5	6	5	....	**18**	3	14
Have trade	5	3	1	7	2	6	2	1	2	3	1	8	1	3	3	**8**	...
No trade	33	6	18	21	24	33	6	13	7	12	10	8	7	18	14	....	**39**

TABLE II — Larceny, Grand and Petit.

Sane, 71 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 13 — *Total*, 84.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.*	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected children.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	35	1	**36**	....	24	31	5	4	6	11	16	17	6	12	11	8	28
Not orphans	36	12	....	**48**	19	37	10	11	5	8	19	16	5	18	16	15	33
Neglected childhood	34	6	24	19	**40**	36	3	12	7	10	21	16	4	15	14	8	32
Habitual criminals	59	9	31	37	36	**68**	....	15	9	16	27	30	7	22	24	19	49
First offenders	11	4	5	10	3	..	**15**	0	2	3	8	3	4	10	3	4	11
Refuge boys	12	3	4	11	12	15	0	**15**	3	3	7	5	2	5	7	6	9
Criminal family	9	2	6	5	7	9	2	3	**11**	2	6	3	2	6	2	2	9
Pauper stock	10	9	11	8	10	16	3	3	2	**19**	7	9	1	7	10	7	12
Intemperate family	28	7	16	19	21	27	8	7	6	7	**35**	13	11	14	11	6	28
Habitual drunkards	31	2	17	16	16	30	3	5	3	9	13	**33**	....	11	16	4	15
Temperate	11	0	6	5	4	7	4	2	2	1	11	....	**11**	8	0	3	8
Reformable	29	3	12	18	15	22	10	5	6	7	14	11	8	**32**	....	8	24
Hopeless	22	5	11	16	14	24	3	7	2	10	11	16	0	....	**27**	8	19
Have trade	17	6	8	15	8	19	4	6	2	7	6	4	3	8	8	**23**	....
No trade	54	7	28	33	32	49	11	9	9	12	28	15	8	24	19	....	**61**

* Under the term *neurotic heritage* are included those who are descended from, related to, or are themselves either idiotic, insane, epileptic, paralytic, or otherwise nervously disordered.

TABLE III — LARCENY FROM PERSON.

Sane, 16 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 4 — *Total*, 20.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	7	1	8	....	5	6	2	4	1	0	5	4	1	5	0	4	4
Not orphans	9	3	....	12	11	11	1	8	4	4	8	7	2	6	3	3	9
Neglected childhood	13	3	5	11	16	14	2	11	5	4	11	9	1	10	3	5	11
Habitual criminals	15	2	6	11	14	17	....	11	5	4	10	9	2	10	3	5	12
First offenders	1	2	2	1	2	....	3	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	0	2	1
Refuge boys	11	1	4	8	11	11	1	12	3	3	7	6	1	8	1	6	6
Criminal family	3	2	1	4	5	5	0	3	5	1	2	3	0	2	3	2	3
Pauper stock	3	1	0	4	4	4	0	3	1	4	3	3	0	2	1	0	4
Intemperate family	9	4	5	8	11	10	3	7	2	3	13	7	2	7	1	4	9
Habitual drunkards	8	3	4	7	9	9	2	6	3	3	7	11	....	4	2	4	7
Temperate	3	0	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	2	....	3	3	0	0	3
Reformable	9	2	5	6	10	10	1	8	2	2	7	4	3	11	....	3	8
Hopeless	2	1	0	3	3	3	0	1	3	1	1	2	0	....	3	1	2
Have trade	5	2	4	3	5	5	2	6	2	0	4	4	0	3	1	7	....
No trade	11	2	4	9	11	12	1	6	3	4	9	7	3	8	2	....	13

TABLE IV — ROBBERY.

Sane, 19 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 0 — *Total*, 19.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminal.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	12	....	12	....	7	10	2	3	2	3	4	5	2	6	4	2	10
Not orphans	7	....	....	7	2	7	0	2	2	1	6	4	1	2	4	0	7
Neglected childhood	9	...	7	2	9	9	0	5	2	1	5	6	1	5	3	2	7
Habitual criminals	17	....	10	7	9	17	....	5	4	3	10	5	2	7	7	2	15
First offenders	2	....	2	0	0	....	2	0	0	1	0	2	1	1	1	0	2
Refuge boys	5	...	3	2	5	5	0	5	1	1	4	4	1	3	2	2	3
Criminal family	4	....	2	2	2	4	0	1	4	0	3	2	0	1	2	1	3
Pauper stock	4	...	3	1	1	3	1	1	0	4	1	1	2	2	2	0	4
Intemperate family	10	....	4	6	5	10	0	4	3	1	10	5	1	4	5	1	9
Habitual drunkards	9	....	5	4	6	5	2	4	2	1	5	9	....	4	5	1	8
Temperate	3	...	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	2	1	....	3	3	0	0	3
Reformable	8	....	6	2	5	7	1	3	1	2	4	4	3	8	....	2	6
Hopeless	8	....	4	4	3	7	1	2	2	2	5	5	0	....	8	0	7
Have trade	2	....	2	0	2	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	2	0	2	....
No trade	17	..	10	7	7	15	2	3	3	4	9	8	3	6	1	....	17

TABLE V — Forgery.

Sane, 11 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 3 — *Total*, 14.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	4	1	5	. .	1	1	4	0	0	0	2	2	2	3	0	0	5
Not orphans	7	2	....	9	0	3	6	0	2	0	4	2	3	3	2	0	9
Neglected childhood	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Habitual criminals	4	0	1	3	0	4	. .	0	0	0	3	1	1	1	2	0	4
First offenders	7	3	4	6	1	....	10	0	2	0	3	3	4	5	0	0	10
Refuge boys	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Criminal family	1	1	0	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	2
Pauper stock	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Intemperate family	5	1	2	4	0	3	3	0	0	0	6	2	1	1	2	0	6
Habitual drunkards	2	2	2	2	0	1	3	0	0	0	2	4	. .	2	0	0	4
Temperate	4	1	2	3	1	1	4	0	2	0	1	....	5	2	1	0	5
Reformable	4	2	3	3	0	1	5	0	1	0	1	2	2	6	0	0	6
Hopeless	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	....	2	0	2
Have trade	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	....	0	....
No trade	11	3	5	9	1	4	10	0	2	0	6	4	5	6	2	....	14

TABLE VI — Receiving Stolen Goods.

Sane, 3 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 3 — *Total*, 6.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected children.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	0	2	2	..	2	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	.	0	2	0	2
Not orphans	3	1	..	4	0	3	1	1	0	1	2	0	..	3	..	1	3
Neglected childhood	0	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	..	0	2	0	2
Habitual criminals	2	3	2	3	2	5	..	1	0	2	2	1	..	2	2	1	4
First offenders	1	0	0	1	0	..	1	0	0	..	1	0	..	1	0	0	1
Refuge boys	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	..	1	0	0	1	0	1	0
Criminals family	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pauper stock	1	1	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	..	1	1	0	2
Intemperate family	2	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	0	3	1	..	2	1	1	2
Habitual drunkards	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	..	0	1	0	1
Temperate	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Reformable	3	0	0	3	0	2	1	1	0	1	2	0	..	3	..	1	2
Hopeless	0	2	2	..	2	2	0	0	0	1	1	1	..	..	2	0	2
Have trade	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	..	1	0	1	..
No trade	2	3	2	3	2	4	1	0	0	2	2	1	..	2	2	..	5

In table I, we find forty-eight persons who have committed burglaries in different degrees. Of these, thirty-nine are sane, nine are either mentally deficient, epileptic, or belong to families where some form of nervous disease exists. For the sake of convenience we shall hereafter speak of this class as of *neurotic* heritage, although this is not strictly correct; nineteen are orphans, twenty-eight neglected children, forty habitual criminals, eight first offenders, fifteen refuge boys, ten belong

to criminal families, sixteen are of pauper stock, sixteen of intemperate family, sixteen are habitual drunkards, eight have trades and thirty-nine have none.

In table II, for larceny, in a total of eighty-four, seventy-one are sane, thirteen are of *neurotic* heritage, thirty-six are orphans, forty-eight not orphans, forty neglected children, sixty-eight habitual criminals, fifteen first offenders, eleven of criminal family, nineteen of pauper stock, thirty-five of intemperate family, thirty-three habitual drunkards, twenty-three have trades and sixty-one none.

In table III, larceny from person, total twenty, sixteen are sane, four of neurotic heritage, eight orphans, twelve not orphans, sixteen neglected in childhood, seventeen habitual criminals, three first offenders, twelve refuge boys, five of criminal family, four of pauper stock, thirteen of intemperate family, eleven habitual drunkards, seven have trades and thirteen none.

In table IV, for robbery, total nineteen, sane nineteen, of neurotic heritage none, twelve orphans, seven not orphans, nine neglected in childhood, seventeen habitual criminals, two first offenders (and of these it is doubtful if they are first offenders), five refuge boys, four of criminal family, four of pauper stock, ten of intemperate family, nine habitual drunkards, two have trades and seventeen have none.

Table V, for forgery, total fourteen, of which eleven are sane, three of neurotic heritage, five orphans, nine not orphans, one neglected in childhood, four habitual criminals, ten first offenders, no refuge boys, two of criminal family, none of pauper stock, six of intemperate family, four habitual drunkards, none have any trade.

Table VI, receiving stolen goods, total six, of which three are sane, three of neurotic heritage, two orphans, four not orphans, two neglected in childhood, five habitual criminals, one first offender, one refuge boy, two of pauper stock, three of intemperate family, one habitual drunkard, one has a trade and five have not.

Turning to the crimes against person, and to arson, which is more a crime of impulse than one for gain, we find in table VII, for murder, attempt to kill, or to harm, a total of twenty, of which fourteen are sane, six of neurotic heritage, seven orphans, thirteen not orphans, five neglected in childhood, thirteen habitual criminals, seven first offenders, three refuge boys, three of criminal family, two of pauper stock, eight of intemperate family, four are habitual drunkards, three have trades and seventeen none.

Table VIII, of rape and attempts at rape, total fifteen, of which seven are sane, eight of neurotic heritage, five orphans, ten not orphans, eight neglected in childhood, eight habitual criminals, seven first offenders, one refuge boy, three of criminal family, four of pauper stock, seven of

intemperate family, six habitual drunkards, three have trades and twelve none.

Table IX, for arson, total seven, of which four are sane, three of neurotic heritage, one orphan, six not orphans, four habitual criminals, three first offenders, no refuge boys, two of criminal family, one of pauper stock, one of intemperate family, three habitual drunkards, and none have trades.

TABLE VII—Murder and Attempt to Kill.

Sane, 14 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 6 — *Total*, 20.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	5	2	**7**	...	3	4	3	1	1	1	1	2	1	3	1	2	5
Not orphans	9	4	....	**13**	2	9	4	2	2	1	7	6	3	4	7	1	12
Neglected childhood	3	2	3	2	**5**	4	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	3	1	1	4
Habitual criminals	11	2	4	9	4	**13**	...	3	2	1	7	6	1	4	5	1	12
First offenders	3	4	3	4	1	...	**7**	0	1	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	5
Refuge boys	2	1	1	2	3	3	0	**3**	1	0	2	3	0	2	1	1	2
Criminal family	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	1	**3**	1	1	2	1	1	1	0	3
Pauper stock	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	**2**	1	0	1	....	1	0	2
Intemperate family	6	2	1	7	2	7	1	2	1	1	**8**	4	1	2	3	0	8
Habitual drunkards	6	2	2	6	3	6	2	3	2	0	4	**8**	....	3	4	2	6
Temperate	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	0	1	1	1	....	**4**	1	1	1	3
Reformable	4	3	3	4	3	4	3	2	1	....	2	3	1	**7**	....	3	4
Hopeless	4	4	1	7	1	5	3	1	1	1	3	4	1	....	**8**	0	8
Have trade	3	0	2	1	1	1	2	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	0	**3**	...
No trade	12	5	5	12	4	12	5	2	3	2	8	6	3	4	8	....	**17**

TABLE VIII—Rape and Attempts, etc.

Sane, 7 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 8 — *Total*, 15.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	3	2	**5**	...	4	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	0	0	5
Not orphans	4	6	....	**10**	4	5	5	0	2	2	6	5	2	2	5	3	7
Neglected childhood	4	4	4	4	**8**	5	3	1	2	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	6
Habitual criminals	6	2	3	5	5	**8**	...	1	2	2	4	5	2	2	4	2	6
First offenders	1	6	2	5	3	....	**7**	0	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	6
Refuge boys	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	**1**	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	1
Criminal family	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	0	**3**	1	2	1	0	1	1	2	1
Pauper stock	1	3	2	2	3	2	2	0	1	**4**	1	1	1	0	3	1	3
Intemperate family	4	3	1	6	3	4	3	0	2	1	**7**	4	....	1	3	3	4
Habitual drunkards	4	2	1	5	2	5	1	0	1	1	4	**6**	....	1	3	2	4
Temperate	2	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	....	....	**3**	1	1	1	2
Reformable	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	0	1	1	1	**4**	....	1	3
Hopeless	3	2	0	5	2	4	1	0	1	3	3	3	1	....	**5**	1	4
Have trade	1	2	0	3	2	2	1	0	2	1	3	2	1	1	1	**3**	....
No trade	6	6	5	7	6	6	6	1	1	3	4	4	2	3	4	....	**12**

TABLE IX — Arson.

Sane, 4 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 3 — *Total*, 7.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	1	0	1	..	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	1
Not orphans	3	3	..	6	..	3	3	..	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	..	6
Neglected childhood	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Habitual criminals	3	1	1	3	..	4	..	..	2	..	1	2	1	..	2	..	4
First offenders	1	2	0	3	..	..	3	..	..	1	..	1	1	2	1	..	3
Refuge boys	0	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Criminal family	1	1	0	2	..	2	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	2
Pauper stock	1	0	0	1	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	1	..	1
Intemperate family	1	0	0	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	1
Habitual drunkards	3	0	1	2	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	3	..	..	2	..	3
Temperate	1	1	0	2	..	1	1	..	1	..	1	..	2	1	..	..	2
Reformable	..	2	0	2	..	..	2	..	2	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	2
Hopeless	2	1	1	2	..	2	1	..	..	1	..	2	..	..	3	..	3
Have trade	0	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
No trade	3	4	1	6	..	4	3	..	2	1	1	3	2	2	3	..	7

TABLE X — Total Crimes against Property.

Sane, 159 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 32 — *Total*, 191.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	74	8	82	..	46	67	15	19	11	23	33	33	16	36	26	15	67
Not orphans	85	24	..	109	50	84	24	29	21	22	50	41	16	46	34	26	82
Neglected childhood	80	16	46	50	96	85	9	41	19	26	50	41	15	40	34	17	77
Habitual criminals	131	20	67	84	85	151	..	47	27	37	67	62	17	59	54	33	118
First offenders	27	12	15	24	9	..	39	1	5	8	16	12	15	23	6	8	30
Refuge boys	41	7	19	29	41	47	1	48	11	13	28	24	10	20	17	16	31
Criminal family	23	9	11	21	19	27	5	11	32	7	15	11	4	14	9	7	24
Pauper stock	29	16	23	22	26	37	8	13	7	45	19	19	7	15	13	10	33
Intemperate family	65	18	33	50	50	67	16	28	15	19	83	39	7	33	25	13	64
Habitual drunkards	62	12	33	41	41	62	12	24	11	19	39	74	..	28	29	20	54
Temperate	28	4	16	16	15	17	15	10	4	7	7	..	32	18	6	4	26
Reformable	73	9	36	46	40	59	23	20	14	15	33	28	18	82	..	17	64
Hopeless	47	13	26	34	34	54	6	17	9	13	25	29	6	..	60	11	46
Have trade	30	11	15	26	17	33	8	16	7	10	13	20	4	17	11	41	..
No trade	128	21	67	82	77	118	30	31	24	33	64	54	26	64	46	..	149

TABLE XI — Murder, etc., Rape and Arson.

Sane, 25 — *Neurotic Heritage*, 17 — *Total*, 42.

	Sane.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Not orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	First offenders.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Temperate.	Reformable.	Hopeless.	Have trade.	No trade.
Orphans	9	4	**13**	....	7	8	5	2	2	2	2	4	2	4	4	2	11
Not orphans	16	13	....	**29**	6	17	12	2	6	5	14	13	7	9	12	4	25
Neglected childhood	7	6	7	6	**13**	9	4	4	4	4	5	5	3	5	3	3	10
Habitual criminals	20	5	8	17	9	**25**	....	4	6	3	13	13	4	6	11	3	22
First offenders	5	12	5	12	4	....	**17**	0	2	4	3	4	5	7	5	3	14
Refuge boys	3	1	2	2	4	4	0	**4**	1	....	2	3	1	3	1	1	3
Criminal family	4	4	2	6	4	6	2	1	**8**	1	3	3	2	4	2	2	6
Pauper stock	3	4	2	5	4	3	4	....	1	**7**	2	2	2	0	5	1	4
Intemperate family	11	5	2	14	5	13	3	2	3	2	**16**	8	2	3	6	3	13
Habitual drunkards	13	4	4	13	5	13	4	3	3	2	8	**17**	. ..	5	9	4	12
Temperate	5	4	2	7	3	4	5	1	2	2	2	....	**9**	3	2	2	7
Reformable	6	7	4	9	5	6	7	3	4	....	3	5	3	**13**		4	9
Hopeless	9	7	4	12	3	11	5	1	2	5	6	9	2	....	**16**	1	15
Have trade	4	2	2	4	3	3	3	1	2	1	3	4	2	4	1	**6**	...
No trade	21	15	11	25	10	22	14	3	6	4	13	12	7	9	15	....	**36**

Table X gives the aggregate of the crimes against property, and table XI those against person, including arson.

Table XII gives the per centages on nine items in tables VI, VII, VIII, IX and X, and to this is added a line for house of refuge boys.

TABLE XII.

Crimes Compared by Per Centages.

	Total number of convicts.	Neurotic heritage.	Orphans.	Neglected childhood.	Habitual criminals.	Refuge boys.	Criminal family.	Pauper stock.	Intemperate family.	Habitual drunkards.	Without trade.
For all crimes	233	23.03	40.77	46.78	75.63	22.31	17.16	22.31	42.49	39.05	79.40
Crimes against person	42	40.47	30.95	30.95	59.52	9.54	19.04	16.66	38.08	40.47	85.71
Crimes against property	191	16.75	42.93	50.26	79.05	25.13	16.75	23.50	43.45	38.74	78.01
Burglary	48	18.75	39.58	58.33	83.33	31.24	20.83	33.33	33.33	33.33	81.25
Larceny, grand and petit	84	15.47	42.85	47.61	80.95	17.85	13.09	22.63	41.66	39.28	72.62
Larceny from person	20	20.00	40.00	80.00	85.00	60.00	25.00	20.00	65.00	55.00	65.00
Robbery	19	0.00	63.16	47.36	89.52	26.37	21.05	21.05	52.73	47.36	89.52
House of Refuge boys	52	15.38	40.04	86.54	98.07	.....	23.07	25.00	51.69	51.92	65.38

Nervously disordered stock.—Under the title of nervously disordered stock are included all convicts who are or have been afflicted with insanity, epilepsy, idiocy, chorea, or paralysis, or who have any blood relations who are or have been subject to any of these diseases. Of the

233 prisoners examined, 49 or 21.03 per cent belong to this stock, or one in every five. If we compare the crimes against property with those of impulse, placing arson among that category as in table XI, we shall find that of the former there are 16.75 per cent with *neurotic* heritage, while of the latter there are 40.47 per cent. This close relationship between insanity and crime is quite in accordance with the experience of England, where the ratio of insane criminals to the sane is seventeen times as great as that which the total adult lunaties bear to the whole adult population of England.* In burglary we get 18.75 per cent and in larceny (grand and petit) we get a little under the average 15.47 per cent, while in robbery none are found. It has been said that "whatever is physiologically right is morally right,"† and here we have a confirmation of that saying by its converse, that whatever is physiologically unsound is morally rotten, for we find that murder, rape and arson, crimes which arouse our abhorrence and indignation the most, for which the law awards the most severe penalties, and which all men in all nations are agreed to look upon as unpardonable, are perpetrated by a class of men whose probable capacity for self-government is twice and a-half less than that of criminals who prey upon property, and whose probable mental unsoundness, taking Dr. Guy's experience as the basis of calculation, is thirty-three times greater than that of the average community.

"*Refuge*" *Boys.*— Under this title are included all boys who have been sent to a reformatory, school ship, industrial school, or house of refuge. The total number of refuge boys is 52 or 22.31 per cent of the prisoners examined — the great mass of them being city boys. Comparing crimes against property and person with each other, we find that while the first show 25.13 per cent of refuge boys, or over one-fourth, the latter only show 9.54 per cent, or less than one-tenth of this class. Dismissing crimes against person and confining ourselves to crimes against property, we find that while they commit over 25 per cent of crimes against property, they commit 60 per cent of the crime of larceny from the person.

Dividing the total number of criminals into two categories, those who are not refuge boys and those who are, we find that 70.63 per cent of the former are habitual criminals, while the latter rise to over 98 per cent of their number. Thus, while the refuge boys furnish only one-fourth of the prison population for these crimes, they yield 31.12

* "The ratio of insane to sane criminals is thirty-four times as great as the ratio of lunatics to the whole population of England; or, if we take half the population to represent the adults which supply the convict prisons, we shall have the criminal lunatics in excess in the high proportion of seventeen to one." Dr. Wm. A. Guy, F. R. S. (Journal of Statistical Society, vol. xxxii, p. 16.)

† Dr. Edmunds.

per cent of the total number of habitual criminals, or nearly one-third. It may be thought that the per centage of refuge boys is too great, but I have reason to think these numbers are below the reality, because to be a refuge boy is, among many criminals, a term of reproach, and for this reason many of them deny having been inmates of a reformatory.

Some of the other items go to explain this large proportion of habitual criminals. Over 40 per cent of their number are orphans; 86.54 per cent are neglected children; 23 per cent are of criminal families; 25 per cent of pauper stock; 51.69 per cent of intemperate family, and 51.92 per cent habitual drunkards. With respect to the per centage of neurotic heritage, it must be borne in mind that a large number of refuge boys are illegitimate, and do not know any thing about their paternal ancestry; for this reason it is impossible to get reliable information as to the existence of nervous diseases in their ancestry. Were this obtainable the per centage would undoubtedly be much higher than that shown in table XII, where it appears as only 15.38 per cent.

Habitual criminals.—If we should rely upon the official figures to determine the ratio of habitual criminals, we should find that they set it down as about 26 per cent, when an actual examination shows conclusively that the total for all crimes is 75.63 per cent; for crimes against person it is 59.52 per cent, and for those against property 79 per cent. Thus, it turns out that in the crimes of design, which require training to insure success, and upon which the offender depends for his living, the proportion of habitual criminals is 19.50 per cent greater than in crimes of impulse. The large number of habitual criminals raises the questions: How has it happened? And, how shall the number be decreased? These questions suggest two modes of dealing with the crime problem, the immediate, which acts upon the individual offender quickly and relates more specially to the administration of the law, the efficiency of the police, the perfection of prison discipline; and the remote, which requires long periods of time to mature, and anticipates the development of the potential offender by effecting ameliorations in public health and general education. The former we shall discuss more at length than the latter. To begin, we shall consider the questions of the average years of criminal liberty, and the net income of crime.

With certain political economists it has become customary to assert, with much elaboration of logic, that crime does not pay. The main point relied on to sustain their view is that, on the average, the net booty obtained by crime is less than the average rate of wages; that criminals are subject to frequent imprisonment, and that they forfeit the advantages of the good opinion of their neighbors. All these

positions are true if they were predicated of reputable people who are sensitive of their good name, but they are not true when affirmed of criminals. As to the good opinion of the righteous that is a negative advantage which sinks to a level of absolute insignificance in the estimation of a clever pickpocket. The "habituals" have a community of their own; it is the approbation of this circle they seek and not that of the philanthropists and divines, whose code of propriety is incomprehensible to them and not unfrequently a subject of derision.

We must also dispossess ourselves of the idea that crime does not pay. In reality there are three classes with whom it does: First, the expert, who commit crimes which are difficult to detect or who can buy themselves off. Second, the incompetent, who are too lazy to work and too proud to beg, or too young for the poor-house. Third, the pauper, who steals because prison fare and prison discipline offer higher inducements than poor-house fare or poor-house society. The whole problem, so far as these three classes are concerned, resolves itself into the economic axiom of relative efficiency. The question with them is not: Does crime yield a rate of income less than that of a skilled mechanic? But, does it yield a rate higher than any employer would be willing to pay for an inefficient, careless and untrained class such as the habitual criminals usually are? How incompetent they are for ordinary avocations of industry is seen when we find that 78 per cent of criminals in State prison are without trades, although their average age is 27 years, while only about 44 per cent are 20 years old and under, and none less than 16.

In the second place, some criminals make large fortunes compound their felonies, and form examples of successful crime which allure the ambition of lesser rascals, just as the mercantile success of A. T. Stewart stimulates the ambition of a neophyte trader. It is quite true that they run the risks of imprisonment, but the average human mind is constituted to run risks. The miner, the engineer, the sailor risk their lives without hesitation for wages averaging from $15 to $150 a month and board; why should not the criminal be satisfied to run the lesser risks of his profession just as other men do in theirs. The question ceases to be: "Does crime pay on the average?" but: "Will it secure a prize in the lottery of chances?"

As the question presents points of practical use in the management and repression of the criminal class, aside from mere disputation, the following table has been prepared, selecting 38 cases of habitual criminals, whose testimony on the questions at issue is deemed sufficiently trustworthy to be accepted as approximately correct, possible exaggerations of one convict in one direction balancing the exaggerations of another in the opposite one.

TABLE XIII.

Showing Criminal Career, Offenses and Convictions.

SCHEDULE NUMBER.	Age at first offense.	Age at last conviction.	Total years of criminal life.	Total imprisonment to last conviction.	Net years of criminal liberty.	Total offenses.	Average number of offenses in one year.	Aggregate convictions.	Ratio of offenses to convictions.
6	7	21	14	2-0	12-0	M †	....	6	.....
0	9	23	14	3-6	10-6	M	....	6	.....
57	10	27	17	3-3	13-9	M	....	2	.....
142	9	19	10	1-6	8-6	M	....	3	.....
119	12	20	8	5-0	3-0	M	....	5	.....
49	14	19	5	0-3	4-9	M	....	4	.....
47	10	18	8	1-10	6-2	900	144	6	150 to 1
31	14	17	3	0-2	2-10	D ‡	....	2	.....
120	9	18	9	2-2	6-10	.....	....	9	.....
98	20	72	52	17-3	34-9	M	...	8	.....
79	15	19	4	1-0	3-0	100	34	1	34 to 1
75	18	28	10	4-0	6-0	M	....	5	.....
48	13	17	4	3-3	0-9	M	....	3	.....
3	11	21	10	0-7	8-5	3,500	415	4	875-1
93	7	22	15	6-9	8-3	M	....	1	.....
61	14	19	5	1-6	3-6	M	....	4	.....
46	9	21	12	1-3	10-9	350	33	4	88-1
43	10	18	8	3-0	5-0	250	50	3	83-1
4	14	17	3	0-9	2-3	100	44	2	50-1
38	18	20	2	0-6	1-6	200	123	3	66-1
25	5	21	16	3-0	13-0	8?	§	5	.....
86	9	22	13	11-0	2-0	10?	§	3	.....
42	10	22	12	3-2	8-10	300	34	4	75-1
33	7	41	34	10-3	23-9	5,000	218	16	317-1
0	9	54	*31	17-0	*14-0	M	....	8	.....
78	14	19	5	1-3	3-9	M	....	4	.....
70	14	25	11	6-9	4-3	M	....	8	.....
62	13	27	14	3-0	11-0	M	....	8	.....
129	8	24	16	3-11	12-1	M	....	6	.....
94	19	22	3	2-6	0-6	100	200	2	50-1
93	8	17	9	1-7	7-5	M	....	5	.....
4	9	21	12	2-8	9-4	M	....	7	.....
58	15	20	5	1-3	3-9	80	21	3	27-1
41	13	25	12	3-9	8-3	D	...	4	.....
89	14	20	6	3-0	3-0	300	100	3	100-1
26	12	18	6	2-2	3-10	75	19	2	38-1
29	7	18	11	0-0	11-0	100?	9?	1	100-1
103	9	19	10	4-2	5-10	.....	....	5	.....
Totals	....	....	439	140.92	298.08	.....	1,444	175	2,063 to 14
Averages	....	....	11.55	3.71	7.84	.....	103	4.55	146 to 1

From this table the average duration of criminal life of each habitual criminal amounts to 11.55 years, of which 7.84 are spent in criminal liberty and 3.71 in prison. Here we have a measure of crime risks which is far below the hazards of a miner, for, while he holds himself ready to spend 300 days, or 82 per cent of his life, in an occupation, the conditions of which are far more onerous than that of imprisonment, and the remuneration of which yields not much above the bare necessaries of life, the criminal only gives up 34 per cent of his life to secure 66 per cent of license and self-indulgence. Furthermore, it appears that the average number of convictions in 12 years is 4.55, or one

* Has been in insane asylums fourteen years of his life. † M stands for "many offenses."
‡ D stands for "declines to answer." § Rejected because grossly untrue.

conviction in every two years and six months. This accords with the estimate of one convict, that "there is from two to three years' average between commitments." For each commitment, the table shows an average of 146 offenses, and as about 100 offenses are committed each year, this would be equal to one commitment for every 18 months of liberty, equivalent to 66 per cent of the total crime career. By adding 34 per cent, the period of imprisoment, we get, as the time between convictions, by this calculation, two years and three months, which again accords with the statement of another convict who testified that for "small crimes about 100 to 150 offenses to one conviction are committed, and for big jobs, five offenses for one conviction, but it takes sometimes two years to put up a job on a bank." This computation would, of course, not be correct for the total crimes committed in the community, because this estimate refers only to professional criminals.

It has been found impossible to get any reliable information as to the average income of criminals from any calculation based upon the value of the articles stolen as returned by the indictment, for the tendency of the prosecutor is to enormously overestimate the amount of his loss, and, in the second place, it is usually only when a considerable loss has been sustained that the prosecutor is roused sufficiently to give his time to secure the conviction of the offender. For these reasons, $214, the average amount of each theft which the schedules yield, is much above the actual truth as respects the total criminal class, although it may be not very far from the truth for cases that receive State prison punishment, the higher crimes being, of course, concentrated in this class of prisons.

To arrive at some reasonable approximation of the net income, it was thought that the best test to decide the question was to ask such prisoners as were sufficiently communicative what yearly or weekly income, by labor, each would think sufficient to restrain him from theft. In most cases where this question was asked the proposition seemed so novel that they were actually nonplussed. The habit of estimating expenditures and of keeping in mind the relation between income and outgo was so absolutely wanting, that they could form no approximate judgment on the question. The most consistent answers were: "One thousand a year at shoemaking," providing he could work half time, "five hundred dollars a year;" "seventy-five dollars a month," and "ten dollars a week," in most cases without any realization of the value of money. Reverting at this point to the testimony of a convict quoted above, that those who do minor crimes commit about 100 to 150 offenses to *one commitment*, while those who "go for big money" get caught once out of five times, we have here something which may

serve as a measure of police and public efficiency in preventing crime. Where large stores of valuables are kept, extra precautions are taken by the owners; where large sums are lost, the loser spares no pains or expense to catch and punish the offender, and the result is the convictions are 27 times more frequent in proportion to the number of offenses. Nor is it fair to lay the chief blame upon the police for not bringing petty offenders to justice more frequently. The blame is far more due to the public which is so careless or indifferent to its small losses that it invites pilfering. We know of one person who has lived 20 years of adult life and never had his pocket picked, though a resident of the city for three-fourths of that time, and another 40 years with a like experience, while others get theirs picked on an average twice a year. The same caution in the latter case would, no doubt, produce the same immunity as in the former, and would of itself go far to solve the perplexing problem: What shall we do about our criminals? One answer is: *Lead them not into temptation.*

Intermittent Industry.—Dr. Bruce Thomson, surgeon to the General Prison of Scotland, of eighteen years' experience, thus speaks of disease among criminals: "In all my experience I have never seen such an accumulation of morbid appearances as I witness in the *post mortem* examinations of the prisoners who die here. Scarcely one of them can be said to die of one disease, for almost every organ of the body is more or less diseased; and the wonder to me is that life could have been supported in such a diseased frame. Their moral nature seems equally diseased with their physical frame; and whilst their mode of life in prison reanimates their physical health, I doubt whether their minds are equally benefited, if improved at all. On a close acquaintance with criminals, of 18 years' standing, I consider that nine in ten are of inferior intellect, but that all are excessively cunning."*

These remarks, although substantially true of our own criminals, would present an overdrawn picture, and, after all, when we come to analyze cunning, it is nothing more than a special form of intellectual aptitude, the result of a very careful education of the faculties to escape detection, which training, had it been directed to other modes of gaining a living, would have produced the intelligence which Dr. Thomson here contrasts with cunning. Nor can the results of *post mortem* examinations be held to express the general physical condition of convicts, for those who die must necessarily be those in whom disease has worked its utmost ravages. But there is sufficient truth in the foregoing statement to make the question one of the important branches of investigation, and one on which much of our treatment of

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* *The Hereditary Nature of Crime*, in Journal of Mental Science, vol. xv, p. 487.

the criminal class must depend if we propose to deal with the crime problem intelligently. Let us look to the effect of sickness upon the reputable classes. See how a bad cold, which "stops up the head," and brings with it ear ache, stiff neck and sore throat, causes the most industrious man to lay up for a few days, because he cannot work. How many of our merchants retire from business, preachers from their pulpits, lawyers from their offices, because ill health compels cessation from labor. Now, during the time these gentlemen are recuperating away from their professional duties, be it one or more years, no one thinks of accusing them of laziness; we justly call them invalids of different degrees. But when we cast our severe eye upon the criminal class, human beings who, in many cases, have inherited deep-seated constitutional diseases, or acquired disorders, the result of licentious indulgence, we cease to reckon that disease with them will produce the same inability for continuous labor which we admit to be true among the worthy, and stigmatize their inaptitude for work as laziness. Now, the word laziness explains nothing. It merely describes a state which may be the result of any given twenty causes, or any combination of these; the true explanation becoming as complex a problem as human nature itself. But where we note the effect of physical and mental disease on the ability to work, we have at least one tangible and definite reason furnished to us for the laziness of the unbalanced, and we can then appreciate that certain congenital mental deficiencies and hereditary diseases have the effect of depriving the man of the power of sustained energy, which is the basis of perseverance and of continuous industry, and accounts for those cases where "indolence is stronger than all the passions."

We find in table XII that 79.40 per cent of the criminals examined have never learned a trade, and while it is true that physical disease does not account for all the inaptitude of criminals, it does account for a great deal. As was said in a former report,* one of the most conspicuous of the characteristics of the criminal is that, if he does work, he adopts some kind of intermittent industry which requires no special training. This also indicates the same constitutional tendency, and is sustained by the following list of occupations:

* See Jukes, p. 53.

True Trades Requiring Skill.

	Against property.	Against person.		Against property.	Against person.
Shoemaker	8		Cabinet maker	1	
Weaver	1		Brush maker	2	
Baker	1		Confectioner	1	
Moulder	2		Plumber	2	
Wood turner	1		Blacksmith	2	
Tailor	3		Photographer	1	
Wagon maker	1		Tinsmith	1	
Machinist	1		Naval architect	1	
Brass finisher	1		Carpenter	1	2
Jeweller	1		Cooper		1
Umbrella maker	1		Puddler		1

True Trades Affected by Seasons.

Plasterer *	1	1	Mate*	1	
Stone cutter *	1		Engineer *	3	
Painter *	4		Total	50	7
Bricklayer *	1		Aggregate, all offenses		57
Farmer *	7	2			

Occupations Requiring School Education.

Compositor *	3		Broker	1	
Lawyer		1	Druggist	4	
Actor *	1		Total	21	3
Bookkeeper	5				
Clerk	7	2	Aggregate, all offenses		24

Trades Requiring Slight Skill.

Chair caner	1		Cook	1	
Press feeder *	6		Barber		1
Spoke finisher	1		Butcher	2	
Cigar maker	1		Total	14	1
Book folder	1				
Steward *	1		Aggregate, all offenses		15

Occupations Requiring no Skill.

Laborer *	13	6	Sailor *	6	
Newsboy *	2		Lather	1	
Canaller *	4	3	Peddler *	1	
Teamster *	7	2	Bar tender	1	
Boot black *	1		Quack *		1
Messenger *	3		Fireman *		2
Waiter *	5	1	Brakesman *		1
Soldier *	1		Total	52	21
Farm laborer *	4	3			
Jockey *	3	2	Aggregate, all offenses		73

No Occupation.

Against property	55
Against person	9
Total	64

* The occupations marked with asterisks are classed as intermittent industries.

In a total of 233 persons, we find only 57, or 20.60 per cent, who have a trade which requires skill, 24 occupations requiring school education, 15 occupations that require but very slight skill, 73 requiring no skill, and 64 who have no occupation whatever. Of the total occupations, numbering 169, we find 113, or over 66 per cent, are of an essentially intermittent character, either by the interruption of the seasons, the daily exigencies of the weather, or the necessity of living away from home for longer or shorter periods.

Without entering into an extended argument as to why the irregularity of diseased physical functions produces, at a second remove, irregularity in the voluntary efforts which we familiarly call want of perseverance, we are justified by the highest medical authorities in saying that we thus get a series of social phenomena which are primarily physiological conditions. The physical disabilities which arrest the orderly growth of the body produce, in the course of years, a fitful character, partaking of the defects of the constitutional temperament which, because it is temperamental, dominates the habits of thought, of action and of sensation, and gives to the moral nature a vacillating form identical to its own spasmodic development. In this way the unfortunate victim unconsciously feels that continuous effort is the direction of greatest resistance, and falls into the position of a procrastinating and inefficient ne'er-do-well, if he escapes contaminating associations, or becomes an habitual criminal if he fall among thieves.

In discussing the importance and bearing of disease on the formation of industrial habits, the more remote causes and cure of criminal tendencies are being anticipated. Nor must the inference be drawn that, because it is of very great importance, it is the only cause for this defect of industrial aptitude; there are two others of at least equal prominence. The first is one which lays at the basis of all civilization, and without which it would be impossible; it is that desire of the human race to secure the largest returns of enjoyment for the least expenditure of effort, and has led to the introduction of all the labor-saving machinery which so much multiplies our enjoyments. The other is education, which is capable of counteracting the effects of a defective physical organization, by correcting it through the formation of habits of regular application, which themselves react upon the vacillating temperament and contribute to the more healthy operation of the physical functions. We have here, then, three prime causes, which are so related to each other that we must reject the implication that, because a man has a defective physical organization, therefore he is necessarily irresponsible for his acts. That the insane are often irresponsible is true, but it is by no means true of the persons who are now under discussion.

Inebriety.— Under the term "habitual drunkards" are included all such persons as get drunk at least once in three weeks, or whose passion for drink unfailingly induces them to intoxication whenever the opportunity presents itself, even if the intervals between debauches should be more than three weeks. It has been the aim of the investigation to establish the existence of the appetite, and, if possible, the age at which the habit was first begun, and the age at which the inebriety was fixed as an habitual passion. In a former report,* when writing on this subject, we said: "It must be remembered that the value of the present inquiry rests on the method of viewing the career in chronological order." "Some of the points that need special observation seem to be, what age has habitual intemperance become confirmed, what age drinking begun; what were the sexual habits at various periods, especially in youth; whether any deep-seated constitutional disease has exhausted the vitality; whether there is hereditary predisposition; whether the trade or occupation is detrimental to health." Keeping this in mind, we have constructed several tables which illustrate the subject under consideration.

In table XII it will be found that 42.49 per cent of the total number of criminals are of intemperate family, while 39.05 per cent are habitual drunkards. With the house of refuge boys the ratios rise, respectively, to 51 per cent of intemperate family, and 52 per cent of habitual drunkards; but when we come to compare the habitual criminals to the first offenders we find that only 30 per cent of these latter belong to this class against 42.04 per cent of the habitual criminals and 52 per cent of refuge boys. It must not, however, be argued from these figures that inebriety is *the* cause of these men becoming habitual criminals, because there are other causes of crime which, it is more than probable, are the common causes of both crime and intemperance, notably sexual excess and insane ancestry. To get at some indication of what are other elements, tables XIV, XV, XVI and XVII have been prepared.

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* See Jukes, pp. 36, 37.

TABLE XIV — Habitual Drunkards, Showing Ancestry.

SCHEDULE NUMBER.	Age at last conviction.	Venereal disease.	Prostitution, when begun	Inebriety.		Intemperate family.	Mentally deranged or defective.	Neurotic heritage.	Criminal family.	Criminal type.	Trade or occupation.
				Occasional, when begun.	Habitual, when fixed.						
75	28	.....	....	16	20	.....	No.....	No	Cousin.. ..	Habitual....	Molder?
5	31	.....	....	17	18	F. habitual.....	Epil. in inf..	....	... .	Habitual....	None.
61	42	.....	....	14	19	M. two generat'ns	No..	Gra'mother palsy.	First offe'der	First offe'der	Painter.
136	23	.....	?	15	20	.....	No.....	No.....	No....	First off'der?	None.
34	38	.....	....	18	32	Father habitual...	No.....	Aunt epileptic.. .	No.....	First offe'der	Puddler.
109	47	.....	....	10	25	Father habitual...	No.....	No.....	No.....	Habitual....	Canaller.
	54	.....	?	6	9	.....	Insane 21...	....	....	Habitual....	Tailor, 33 §.
107	35	.....	....	15	20	.....	No...	Sister epileptic ...	.....	Habitual....	Compositor?
72	35	.....	....	19	25	Father habitual...	No.....	....	.....	Habitual....	None.
67	24	.....	....	10	16	F. habitual.....	No.....	....	... .	Habitual....	Canaller.
44	21	.....	Yes.	15	17	....	No.....	....	....	Habitual....	None.
81	41	. ....	....	23	37	. ...	No	.....	.....	Habitual....	Laborer.
18	25	.....	....	18	24	.. ..	No.....	....	.....	Habitual....	Carpenter.
126	25	.....	....	16	17	F. habitual.....	No..... ...	....	.....	Habitual....	Engineer.
106	22	.....	....	18	22	F. occasional.....	No.....	No.....	Uncle, cons.	Habitual...	Book-keeper?
56	17	No.	....	15	16	....	No.....	....	No..... ...	Habitual....	Messenger.
27	40	G. 23	Yes.	16	20	Uncle habitual....	No.....	Bro. epileptic.....	.....	Habitual. ..	Jockey.
60	34	No.	No.	17	31	... .	No.....	No.....	No.....	First offe'der	Plasterer.
32	28	No.	....	15	16	.....	No..	Bro. epileptic.....	.....	First offe'der	Broker's clerk.
3	21	G. 20½	....	16	18	F. hab., M. occa'ly	Epileptic...	Aunt insane	....	Habitual	None.
61	19	No.	....	12	17	F. habitual.....	No.....	....	.....	Habitual....	None.
44	42	No.	?	10	17	.....	No.....	....	.....	Habitual....	Peddling.
19	21	?	D.	7	18	... .	No.....	Mother paralysis..	.....	Habitual....	None.
Average age	31	....	....	14.69	24 52						

§ Learned in prison.

TABLE XV.—HABITUAL DRUNKARDS, SHOWING ANCESTRY AND AGE AT WHICH VENEREAL DISEASE, PROSTITUTION AND INEBRIETY FIRST BEGAN.

SCHEDULE NUMBER.	Age at last conviction.	Venereal disease.	Prostitution, when begun.	INEBRIETY.		Intemperate family.	Mentally deranged or defective.	Neurotic heritage.	Criminal family.	Criminal type.	Trade or occupation.
				Occasional, when begun.	Habitual, when fixed.						
40	* 24	G. 21	16	20	23	F. habitual	No			First offe'der	Bricklayer?
57	* 27	S. 18	14	16	22	F. habitual	No			Habitual	Sailor.
7	* 28	S. 25	20	20	24	F. occasional	No			Habitual	Laborer.
29	* 27	S. 17	16	18	22		No		Bro. habit'al	Habitual	Laborer?
6	* 33	S 21	14	21	25	Father, occasional	No	2 bros. idiotic. †	Bro. habit'al	Habitual	Press work.
50	* 26	G. 23	16	20	24	F. occasional	No			Habitual	Teaming.
4	* 17	S. 16	16		16	F. occasional	No			Habitual	None.
14	22	S. 18	16	9	18	F. and Bro. habit'l	Weak mind.		Brother	Habitual	Bar tender, 17.
84	* 20	G. 19	15	16	19	None	No		Bro. & cous.	Habitual	Teamster.
59	25	S. 18	17	15	21		No			Habitual	Clerk.
52	35	S. 20	17	12	25	F. habitual	No			Habitual	Soldier.
15	40	S. 31	20	18	30	F. habitual	No			Habitual	Baker.
86	28	G. 16	16	9	18	F. habitual	No			Habitual	Sailor.
138	* 23	S. 18	13	13	22	F. habitual	No			Habitual	Shoes. §
29	* 18	S. 15	15	14	16	M. habitual	Def. mind		Bro. habitu'l	Habitual	Boot black.
143	19	G. 15½	13	12	Y	Father occasional.	No			Habitual	None.
35	27	S. 27	15	8	Y	Mother habitual	Def. mind			Habitual	None.
95	29	G. 18	16	12	Y	F. and Bro. habit'l	Insane, 28	Bro. epileptic	F. and bro.	Habitual	Cooper, 18 §.
22	42	S. 38	17	16	Y		No			Habitual	Cabinet maker, §.
89	* 20	No.	10	18	19		No			Habitual	Moulder?
16	* 53		17	20	28		No			Habitual	Steward?
84	* 37		15	16	28	None	No			Habitual	Laborer.
141	21		17½	17	19	?	No	No		Habitual	Tailor. §
112	* 23		16	16	20	F. hab. 2 bro. occ.	No			Habitual	Canaller.
83	* 21		17	17	18	F. and 2 bro. hab'l	No		Two bros.	Habitual	Lather.
		S.	15	10	Y	F. and M. habitual	Insane		F. & mother	Habitual	Laborer.
70	* 25		15	16	Y		No			Habitual	None.
144	* 24		13	15	22	F. occasional	No			First offe'der	Saloon keeper.
90	20		17	12	17		No			Habitual	Butcher.
46	21		14	13	Y	Cousin habitual	No		Cousin	Habitual	Farm laborer.
Average age	26.42	20.84	15.60	15.13	21.56						

* Where prostitution precedes inebriety. † Aunt insane. § Learned in prison.

TABLE XVI.

Occasional Drunkards, showing Ancestry and Age at which Venereal Disease, Prostitution and Inebriety first began.

SCHEDULE NUMBER.	Age at last conviction.	Venereal diseases.	Prostitution, when begun.	Inebriety.		Intemperate family.	Mentally deranged or defective.	Neurotic heritage.	Criminal family.	Criminal type.	Trade or occupation.
				Occasional, when begun.	Habitual, when fixed.						
31	17	.....	15	10	No....	F. hab., M. occas'l	No.....	Uncle epileptic....	Two uncles.	First offe'der	None.
129	24	.....	16	14	No....	F. habitual.....	No.	.....	Two bros...	Habitual	Brush maker, 14, §.
79	19	.....	15	12	.....	.....	No.....	.....	Bro	Habitual	None.
94	22	.....	22	19	No.. .	F. occasional	No.....	.....	.....	Habitual	Farm laborer.
1	* 23	21	16	19	No. ..	.....	No.....	.....	.....	Habitual	Driver.
125	21	.....	16	15	No...	F. habitual.....	No.....	.....	.....	Habitual	Clerk.
41	17	.....	15	12	No....	F. habitual.....	No.....	.....	Cousin.....	Habitual	Plasterer.
10	* 22	.....	15	17	.....	F. habitual.....	No.....	2 aunts & gr. m. in.	.....	First offe'der	Carpenter, 18.
24	24	.....	18	17	.....	Father habitual...	No.....	.....	No.....	Habitual	Farmer.
Average age	21	.....	16.55	15.00	.....						

* Where prostitution precedes inebriety. § Learned in prison.

TABLE XVII.

TEMPERATE, SHOWING ANCESTRY AND AGE AT WHICH VENEREAL DISEASE, PROSTITUTION AND INEBRIETY FIRST BEGAN.

SCHEDULE NUMBER.	Age at last conviction.	Venereal diseases.	Prostitution, when begun.	INEBRIETY.		Intemperate family.	Mentally deranged or defective.	Neurotic heritage.	Criminal family.	Criminal type.	Trade or occupation.
				Occasional, when begun.	Habitual, when fixed.						
23	23	No...	12	No....	No....	.....	No.....	.. ..	.....	Habitual....	Cook.
26...	18	No...	14	No....	No....	F. occasional	No..... ...	.....	.....	Habitual....	None.
98.....	20	No ..	15	No....	No....	F. habitual.....	No.....	.. ..	No.....	First offe'der	None.
91.....	19	No....	16	No....	No....	Parents temp.....	No.....	.....	.....	Habitual....	None.
96.....	19	G. 18..	16	No.. .	No....	.....	No....	....	No	First offe'der	Book-keeper.
29.....	28	G. 22..	22	No....	No....	.....	No.....	Cousin epileptic..	....	First offe'der	Clerk.
60...	20	S. ?...	17	No....	No....	....	No.....	.....	.....	Habitual....	None.
Average age	21	.....	16	.....	.....						

The average age at which the habituals began to drink is (table XIV) 14.69 years and (table XV) 15.13, while the age at which the habit becomes fixed is (table XIV) 24.52 and (table XV) 21.56. In table XVI, which tabulates the occasional drinkers, the average age when they begun is 15 years, but, on comparison of their average age at time of conviction, which is 21, we find it is below the lowest average age of the habituals (see table XV), the significance of which may be that these men have not yet reached the age of habitual drunkards, or belong to a class in which this habit is formed only at a later age. Coming down to particulars, we find that of those who use alcoholic stimulants, one began at 6 years and is now insane, one at 7, whose mother died of paralysis at 54, one at 8, whose mind is defective, two at 9, one of whom is of weak mind, and four at 10, one of whom is now insane. Thus, out of nine boys, who began to drink at 10 years old or under, five of them are either insane, weak minded, or the children of parents afflicted with brain disease. Of those who began to drink at the average age (15 years) or under, there are twenty-five, of whom ten are either mentally deranged or the blood relations of those who have been thus affected, while of the twenty-eight who have begun to drink at ages above 15, only five belong to that class. The age at which these fifty-three persons had the habit fixed was one at 9 years old, who is insane, five at 16, one of whom is of defective mind, five at 17, and six at 18, three of whom are insane or epileptic, and one whose mother died of paralysis; while, of the twenty-nine who are 21 and under, eleven are either mentally deranged or belong to a neurotic family, and eleven are the children of habitual drunkards; while of the twenty-four who became habitual drunkards only after they have reached their majority only four are afflicted with brain disease or belong to such families.

On a comparison of tables XIV and XV, it appears that in the former, which contains a list of those inebriates with whom prostitution has not taken place at an early age, or who have declined to make any statement respecting this matter, we find that, while the average age at which they begin inebriety is six months earlier than in the other table, the average age at which they become habituals is 24.52, while in table XV, where we find the average age at which prostitution begins, this age being 15.60, the average at which habitual inebriety becomes fixed is 21.56, or three years younger than in the former table. Nor is this all. Out of thirty men in table XV, seventeen of them have begun prostitution before or at the same time they have begun the habit of alcholic indulgence, and the average age at which those who have contracted diseases resulting from sexual passion is actually below that at which they become habitual drunkards, being 20.84, the

average age of infection, and 21.56 that of habitual inebriety — a difference of nearly nine months.

These facts seem to substantiate the views expressed in a former report:* "The law shadowed forth by this scanty evidence is that licentiousness has preceded the use of ardent spirits and caused a physical exhaustion that made stimulants grateful. Intemperance itself is only a secondary cause. * * * If this view should prove correct, one of the great points in training pauper and criminal children will be to pay special attention to sexual training, and to prevent and cure constitutional diseases which have come to them as a heritage." †

In the present stage of positive knowledge respecting inebriety, it would seem that, in a certain number of cases, intemperance is the cause of crime. "The best and most unprejudiced observers are agreed that the families of inebriates develop forms of nervous and brain diseases which could only be referred to the habits of drinking in the parent. Dr. Magnus Huss, of Stockholm, declared that drinking produced partial atrophy of the brain, which was handed down to the children. The brain was then too small for its bony case, and lunacy was the result. The same fact had been observed in the lunatics of Massachusetts. In France, Dr. Morel had observed the same result of diminished brains, through several generations, leading to imbecility, homicidal insanity, idiocy and final extinction." †

In another class of cases both inebriety and crime are the results of a common antecedent cause or causes; sometimes insanity or epilepsy in the parents, which, by transmission, changes its character to dipsomania; sometimes by physical exhaustion induced by starvation carried to a point that breaks down the constitution, or by habits of debauch which create an appetite for alcoholism, or by other causes. What the specific cause may be must, in each case, be determined if we wish to apply remedial measures, and the character of the remedy must differ with a difference in the initial cause. With such inebriates as have acquired the habit, an appeal to reason, to tender memories and to self-respect will avail, when no such appeal will be of the least use where this failing is congenital, because it must be first and primarily treated as a medical question before it is approached as a moral one; or rather, the moral treatment must be accomplished through the channel of physical cure as an antecedent and essential requisite.

Having discussed the criminal problem, from the statistical stand-

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* See Jukes, p. 37.

† *Alcoholic Ebriety.* Discourse by Elisha Harris, M. D., before the National Temperance Society, January 21, 1875.

point, as far as we dare with the limited figures at our command, we now come to the citing of typical cases which have come under our observation, and suggest reflections on the manner in which the law and the prison deal with them, and on how they should have been dealt with, did the law not interpose insuperable obstacles to such treatment.

S. W. A——n, aged 26 ; assault to harm ; 4 years and 8 months. Of magnificent physique, average vitality, sanguine nervous temperament, head slightly undersized, rather narrow base, high with retreating forehead. He is of average intelligence, with good moral sense, headstrong and sometimes passionate, but naturally good-tempered. As he expresses it, he "sometimes gets a little high," and while drunk got into an altercation with a man who assaulted him several times, after which they had a fight and he stabbed his antagonist. He feels the disgrace of his imprisonment deeply, admits fully the wrong which he has committed, and although he says he was goaded into it by the persistence of his antagonist, he does not excuse his offense, and admits that his punishment is just. Like a man with sound health and ample moral stamina, he does not whimper over the hardness of his imprisonment, nor the injustice of the court that tried him, but he says that liquor took his reason, and that when he gets out he will never touch it again, but go to some other city where his disgrace will be unknown and start afresh. He looks upon his present imprisonment as being a hard but useful lesson. When questioned as to the influence of his surroundings, he said he had no fear of contamination, that he "wasn't one of them,"—spoken with a good deal of contempt, that he "never mixed," and that a man "can keep himself all right here if he wants to."

In A——n we have a man who is essentially not a criminal, one who may be carried too far once in his life, and will never repeat the offense again. Although he says that he can pass through the term of imprisonment without contamination, still there is risk in such companionship, and to such a man the fact that he becomes known to some two thousand criminals, any one of whom may hail him as an old acquaintance when he is discharged, is an addition to punishment which the law does not contemplate to inflict. What he needs is protection from the after recognition of habitual criminals, and from contamination by loss of self-respect, and opportunity for a good share of mental culture, so that he will have mental resources in the future that he cannot now command, and will fortify him against possibility of relapse. He belongs to that class of men who are benefited by imprisonment. They form perhaps two per cent of the entire prison population. If such men are not destroyed by their incarceration, it is because the good quality of the man can resist the exceeding bad quality of the prison

influences. To meet the exigencies of his case, the State of New York provides a prison, ranges him in a gang to learn that useful accomplishment the lock-step; if he gets on a contract he learns the fragment of a trade; if not, it compels congregate idleness with the enforced companionship and training of felons, while at night it may shelve him, as a discrete strata, in a seething mass of human beings stowed in from flag to roof, twelve deep.*

R. E. E——, aged 18; serving 5 years for embezzlement. Was book-keeper and cashier of a large Broadway house, whose funds he embezzled. Is of good family, a half orphan at six years by death of mother, of sanguine nervous temperament, with small head, average intelligence, rather weak will and vain character. His own account of the cause of his crime is: "I got fast, was fond of enjoyment and of going among fast women. I wanted fine dress, got only $600 a year, and the salary was not enough to pay my way." At 16 he frequents public women, at 17 contracts specific disease, at 18 is in State prison. The course is short, swift and deep. It is the case of a first offender, who represents a class who are quite numerous in our midst, many of whom get detected, and, for the sake of their parents and because they are personally liked, escape prosecution altogether. His type is that of a descending family, in which the misuse of good faculties and the abuse of opportunities conspire to lead astray. He may be reformed by waking up the good teachings of youth and the now dear associations of home. He possesses that kind of moral sense which dreads the disgrace of detection without feeling any special pain at committing the secret act. The treatment of such a case requires, primarily, industrial training to curb the passions, directing the vanity to seek other modes of gratification besides dress, a certain degree of encouragement to keep him from breaking down from melancholia, and separation from contamination. There is no doubt that this boy could be saved by judicious management, were the prison training efficient and well devised. To meet the exigencies of this case, the State provides the lock-step, the fragment of a trade, the congregate idleness, the enforced companionship and training of felons, while at night it may shelve him, as a discrete strata, in a seething mass stowed in from flag to roof, twelve deep.

John O'K——e, aged 16; larceny from person; 2 years. But from the fact that it is picking pockets, it would seem that it is less curable. Has a sanguine temperament, vitality below average, head narrow,

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* In Sing Sing, Auburn and Clinton prisons, which contain 3,036 cells, there are 3,901 convicts, which necessitates the "doubling up" of 1,730 men, or, in other words, the locking up of 1,730, two in one cell, or one-half of the total prison population. The arrangement made is to put in a cell two iron beds, which fold up towards the wall, so that they stretch out one above the other when let down to sleep upon.

forehead wide, intelligence average, education none, a constant truant with weak will. Kept a newspaper stand for two years, was led off by a boy twenty-one years old, who told him he could make more money by stealing than any other way. He is the youngest child of six, the three preceding him died infants; his two oldest brothers keep liquor stores, and one of them has been a member of the New York Legislature. John prides himself on his brother's education, and does not propose to go into politics himself, because he "hasn't got no such edikation as that." He was apprenticed to the machinist trade, but gave it up because he "was foolish and thought he could make money quicker other ways." The probability of reform is fair, but he needs a judicious employer, and would do best in some mercantile business — wholesale grocery, or the like. He is a first offender, and by no means of a criminal type; a boy that could, and therefore should, be saved. To that end the State provides the lock-step, the fragment of a trade, the stratified dormitory and the other addenda of our "congregate system."

John H——n, aged 19; burglary, third degree; two indictments; 10 years. His parents are reputable people in humble life, industrious, though somewhat intemperate. He is of a sanguine nervous temperament, with an average head, narrow at base, high, square and flat on top, above the average intelligence, ambitious, vain and disposed to be loyal to friends and revengeful toward enemies. His moral sense is weak, but it has been somewhat trained in infancy by the example and precept of his parents. He is courageous and daring to rashness, with bright, dark blue eyes and prepossessing features. This boy is one of Dan Noble's pupils. His first seduction into a culpable offense was between 9 and 10 years of age. In 1862 he ran away from home, his father being at the war. After three weeks he returned and formed the habit of stealing apples to sell on the railroad trains. His quickness, aptitude and intelligence attracted notice, and he was put on the express train, No. 1, as a news boy. Here he remained for three years. One day he stole a pocket-book with $4,000 from a satchel belonging to a professional gambler traveling on the train, and incautiously lent $50 of it to a brakeman on the train. This led to his detection and arrest. He was put in jail for one night and discharged the next morning, but this escapade lost him his place. Two or three weeks after he was sent to a private school by a doctor who befriended him, where he got on speaking acquaintance with a girl who induced him to attend prayer meetings, and used to help him learn his lessons. As a matter of course he fell in love with her, and he claims that a rival wrote a letter with insulting proposals, signed it H——n, and sent it to her. This led to his expulsion from the school. The injustice of

this expulsion, he claims, made him utterly reckless. He went to Elmira, joined Dan Noble and Tom Griffin, and helped them in their jobs. In 1866, when only 16 years old, he undertook to shoot the teller of a bank at mid-day while the dinner whistle of a railroad shop was blowing, and thus enable his confederates to rob the bank, but missed his aim and was arrested. He was tried for this, sent to the house of refuge, where he remained one year and a-half. Shortly after his release he was arrested on a charge of attempt at rape, but broke jail after four months of confinement, and was caught in the burglaries which resulted in the ten years of sentence which he has just served, being discharged, with his commutation deducted, in December, 1875, aged 24 years. Ten days after, armed with a knife, he entered the house of a tobacconist. The man told him to take any thing he wanted if he would only go away, whereupon John took a gold watch and a pocket-book and went into the sitting room, shutting the door. Upon this the man pinched his baby to make it cry, and, under cover of the noise, arose and shot at John, who clinched with him, when two more shots were fired, one wounding the burglar in the arm, the other entering the breast. After a tussle, in which the wife reinforced her husband, John got away, walked half a mile to a house in the outskirts, represented he had been attacked by robbers and was attended by a doctor to dress the wounds. There the police found him. He now lays in jail, with a wound in the side which may prove fatal. When I saw him in Auburn, he stated that "with a young fellow, under twenty years of age, a long sentence makes a murderer of him;" that his conduct in prison had, for several years, been violent to the last degree, and that the commutation law of 1874 had first made him reflect, because it made him hope. Had it not been for that law he would, on leaving prison, "have had his bloody revenge" against persons whom he thinks have wronged him, but now he thought he would go to sea for two years to get back his health and to break up his criminal associations, after which he intended to settle down as an engineer.

He showed that, at twenty-four, he could reflect and pass judgment upon his own career; that he had counted costs, and had there been any adequate agency at work within the prison walls to reawaken good resolves and keep them green till liberty gave chance for transplanting into a new life, he could have been saved his present fate. The man who can reflect at twenty-four and find himself in the wrong, who changes his conduct at twenty-two from that of factious opposition to the formal discipline of the prison, to a cheerful compliance in daily work, has got elements in him which, before thirty, can be organized into a fairly well-behaved manhood. What he needed was to be taught a remunerative business, as engineering, which would yield him a

salary of from $60 to $75 a month, and the attention of some person or persons whose social position would flatter his vanity and be a stimulus to continue on the new path. The heredity in his case is sufficiently sound to be counted on as an element in reform, but what does the State know of heredity, or do to study out the social wants attending liberation, or to comprehend that with the moral infant slight duties associated with success must precede large demands upon the moral nature. It is a soulless perfunctory engine, and it provides for a case like this the lock-step and the other addenda which leave the poor mortal the target of a perhaps well-deserved bullet.

In the foregoing we have a series of cases from first offender to habitual criminal, in which the primary element of disorder is educational neglect, uncomplicated by insane or criminal hereditary tendencies. They are what may be called sporadic cases of crime. In the first there is not a thread of criminal nature, there is only a movement of momentary passion kindled partly by feelings of self-respect which, had they stopped short of the last act, we should have been disposed to honor; we come to E——s, where we find the first descending step from a line of honorable ancestry, and designed crime is employed to get means for passional indulgence; to O'K——e, where we find the brothers engaged in a business that trenches on pandering to crime, but where, owing to youth, the criminal habit has not yet become fixed; we come to John H——n, who represents the end of the series of what criminal education, aside from hereditary tendency, will do towards making a desperate habitual criminal. We now turn to another series.

T. H——n, aged 21½; robbery, 4 years. He is an illegitimate child, his mother probably a prostitute, intemperate, and negligent of her children, of whom she has had four living. Knows nothing of his father. He has had two brothers, one of them was sent to the house of refuge in 1863, and subsequently to Sing Sing for ten years, but died before the expiration of his sentence. Timothy's temperament is nervous bilious, active and excitable, vitality average, health good, head undersized, narrow and low, eyes light hazel and bloodshot. He is shrewd, ignorant, has a weak moral sense about some things, partly from education received in reformatory, but no moral balance, and is plucky and vain. His case is an illustration of the bad effects of prolonged institution life. At 7 years stole from his mother, at 8 ran away from home and "knocked about," at 10 was sent to house of refuge for vagrancy, was a bad boy when in refuge, very mischievous and insubordinate, stayed 6 years and 4 months and was discharged. At 17 again in house of refuge, where he remained 1 year and 8 months. He then became one of the ringleaders in a plot to escape

from the refuge, and it was he who forged pikes and knife blades which were to be used to carry the gates by storm. In consequence of the plot being discovered, he was, at 19, sent to the Rochester work-house for one year; at 20 committed to Buffalo work-house six months for petit laceny, and, at the expiration of that time, was sent to Auburn, for robbery and assault, four years. In the last eleven years and a-half he has received ten years and a-half of imprisonment, has committed fifteen offenses and been arrested four times. It will now be very difficult to reform him, but not impossible, and even the want of self-reliance, which institution life has now made constitutional, could be turned to advantage. What he needs is to be taken charge of by some person for whom he has formed a strong personal attachment — something analogous to that of a dog for his master — a man who knows how to judiciously enlist his vanity in a line of conduct which will gradually, and by successive degrees, organize steadiness of character and self-reliance. For occupation he should be employed where there is some adventure, physical activity not too continuous, and the opportunity for display of pluck such as would be needed on the water, but he would not make a sailor. The ringleader of the plot to escape from the refuge above related, who contrived and organized the whole affair, was an orphan in infancy by the death of his mother, the son of an intemperate thief, and the step-son of a thief and the receiver of stolen goods. He lived in a community of criminals and was a leader among them. Fortunately for him, a gentleman, who understands human nature, took charge of this boy, showed him the two roads, one of which leads, through crime, to punishment and disgrace, the other, through honest industry, to prosperity and good name. He decided upon the latter, went to work with a will, was helped by his advisers to set up in some mechanical business in the town where had been a malefactor, and succeeded in his efforts. This was several years ago; he has now become an example to his former associates, and a nucleus of reform around which they begin to gather. His father, who used to be a useless bar-room loafer, is now working for this son, whose faith in a well-ordered life has been built up, so to speak, out of the judicious guidance of the manhood there was in him. Why should not Tim do the same? Well, he has the misfortune to be in custody of a powerful master, whose only conception of guardianship is the lock-step, the fragment of a trade, the congregate idleness, the enforced companionship of felons, the stratified dormitories and ephemeral imprisonment that lends zest to a new career of crime.

Chas. P——n, aged 21; petit larceny from person; second offense; one year. His father was murdered when this boy was only one month old.

His mother, 38 years of age, has been three times married, is intemperate, a pauper, a criminal and a harlot, keeping a brothel, in which may be found her daughters and step-daughters, some of whom have been driven out of various towns for their vileness. His head is average size, well proportioned, with a wide base. He is of a hopeful disposition, vain and quarrelsome. He claims to be temperate. At 14, committed to Lockport jail ten days for assault and battery; at 15, burglary and larceny; Rochester house of refuge one year; at 21, petit larceny; Buffalo work-house three months, and, on conviction of petit larceny, second offense, to Auburn State prison one year. When in the refuge he is reported as behaving well. In this case we have a convict with strong pauper alliances in several branches of the family, and although there is no long lineage of habitual crime, it does begin in the previous generation in the person of his mother, while the environments, both at home and at work on the canal, have been destructive. The difficulties to be met with in dealing with the mingled complications of neglect, bad inheritance and worse associations, would be very great if an effort were made to reform this boy, and yet he is by no means a hopeless case, for he possesses average intelligence and sufficient vanity to make him tractable under a judicious adviser. The greatest difficulty would be to get him to work steadily at any thing. The order of management requires a correction of hereditary tendencies, to be induced mainly by industrial training, and, on liberation, to be settled away from his family with some employer who will have the tact and will to hold him steady. For this case, however, with iron uniformity, the State has provided the lock-step, and the ephemeral imprisonment which, last November, turned him loose to return to the brothel home which has already done so much to bring him to the cell. As a set-off, however, the prison doors are ever ready to swallow him again.

F. B——s, aged 21; grand larceny; five years. Of low vitality; the thirteenth child of a family of fourteen, all of whom, except the last two, are dead. The father died during his infancy; the mother died two years ago of paralysis, aged 54. F. is of a nervous, sanguine temperament, with a blotched face, inflamed lids, and that invalid stoop indicative of an undervitalized constitution. His head is narrow and low, intelligence below average, ignorant, moral sense entirely torpid and rather stolid. At 5 he stole a three-cent silver piece; at 6 he was consorting with child thieves, many of whom have since been brought to prison; at 13, petit larceny; sent to the house of refuge for one year; at 14 worked for nine months at printing; at 15 committed to the Catholic protectory for two weeks, from which he ran away; then to the school ship Mercury for eight weeks on charge of petit larceny; at 16 sent to Sing Sing two years and six months for burglary, and in 1875 recom-

mitted to the same prison for grand larceny, five years. After he had answered my questions, the following conversation took place: "Please, sir, may I ask you a question?" "Certainly." "Why do they send boys to the house of refuge?" "I suppose it is to teach them to be better boys." "That's a great mistake, for they get worse." "How should that be?" "I wouldn't be here, only I was sent to the refuge." "What did you learn there that should have caused you to be sent here (Sing Sing)?" "I didn't know how to pick pockets before I went, and I didn't know no fences; that's where you sell what you steal, you know." "Yes, I know. How many fences did you learn of?" "Three." "What else did you learn in the way of thieving?" "I learned how to put up a job in burglary." During the cross-examination, when he was asked if he had learned a trade, he replied: "No, sir, only a branch of a trade." The answer was quite uncommon, so I asked why it happened. "That was in the refuge; they never learn you a trade; they learn you a branch of a trade, and keep you at it while you stay there." These statements may be exaggerations, but they certainly have great probability, and may explain why it happens that out of 52 refuge boys, 51 are habitual criminals. The prominent defect in this boy is undervitalization, marked by the death of both parents — the mother by paralysis — the sweeping away of twelve brothers and sisters by disease, the nerveless apathy of the boy himself, and the fact that at seven years old he began using alcoholic stimulant, which at eighteen was fixed as habitual inebriety indulged once a week or oftener. If there has ever been a chance of reforming this boy, the order of procedure in such reform should have been by curing him of disease, by proper nourishment to fortify the nervous system, and, when physical improvement had set in, then to have brought to bear industrial training, common school education and moral instruction. With such an order of procedure, probably his opinion respecting refuges, "that they are a great mistake," would have been reversed, and instead of being another living witness of the utter badness of congregate imprisonment, he would have been a joyful attestor to the efficiency of a system which had rescued him from an otherwise inextricable environment. And yet, the State which has mismanaged his case for eight consecutive years — mismanaged alternately by meddling and by neglect — still continues her official and officious policy, with a repetition of the lock-step, which to him is the march to the grave; the fragment of a trade which he can never practice; the congregate idleness which is respite to an overburdened strength; the enforced companionship of felons, which stifles manly or gentle aspirations; the mephitic dormitory which breeds tuberculosis, and the ephemeral imprisonment which a mightier hand than the State will

shorten, by opening the prison gates for his last liberation, while the State, without much pomp or circumstance, will be called upon to perform the office of burying from the sight of men one more of its own blunders, and will return to a monotonous repetition of its routine, which knows no difference between the living and the dying — wasteful of life, oblivious of public good.

In these cases we have, in addition to parental neglect, a hereditary tendency to crime, pauperism or early death. The treatment, if intelligent treatment is to become the order, necessitates, as a prerequisite, a knowledge of the ancestral defects, and the making of this knowledge the basis for the management of the boys. That the inheritance is the main fact in their lives, demonstrates the necessity of taking them in hand while young, for the more they grow, the more difficult is it to weed out the fungus of their precocious infancy. Each of these cases is that of an habitual criminal, weighted with a heritage that tends to sink him irretrievably, with whom the difficulty of rescue is very great, but who still either now has, or has had at some antecedent period, a chance for being saved, but it is a chance which has either been lost or will be lost to a certainty. We now turn to another class of cases.

F. G——s, aged 22; for burglary, second degree; five years. Probably an illegitimate child; does not know his father, nor how many brothers and sisters he has had, but is the oldest son. Constitutional temperament sanguine; vitality very great; head undersized; bullet-shaped, flat on top and wide at base of skull; intelligence fair; moral sense almost idiotic, and of a courageous, daring and sensuous nature. He began his career as "the kid"* of a gang of burglars; is a confirmed habitual criminal, and a contriver of crime. His first theft was at seven years, from his mother; at 14, burglary, third degree, silver worth $40; sent to house of refuge for 15 months; after being bound out, was returned, and stayed six months longer in refuge. At 16, assault and battery; Trenton State prison six months; at 17, burglary, second degree, silks worth $800, Trenton State prison four years. He has thus had, in the last eight years of his life, more than six years of imprisonment. He confesses to having committed a great many offenses, the largest being a highway robbery that yielded $6,000. He says, with pride, "I've never been in a penitentiary; I don't do no light things," and belongs to the class that "goes in for big money," and holds pickpockets in contempt. He has never learned a trade; there are no probabilities of his ever reforming. He believes that theft is as legitimate a calling as commerce, which he looks upon as a legalized method

* Flash term applied by burglars to a child who is helped to creep through apertures too small for a grown person to enter.

of fraud, the profits of business being so much booty. In his case, the only check which will restrain him is life imprisonment, but the State provides the lock-step, and the other formalities of its unvarying method which would, perhaps, be unobjectionable in this case, if not converted into a menace to the community by ephemeral imprisonment, which spreads abroad the evils it breeds in its human corrals.

Richard B——, aged 35; forgery, third degree; four years and six months. He seems to be a pure accident, for he claims neither paternity nor maternity for antecedent, and what organization of inaptitude for manly conduct has come to him as heritage, no one can tell. He is of a sanguine temperament, with narrow head, wide retreating forehead, from which the short, red hair grows upward like porcupine quills, which bristle to the apex of his sugar-loaf head. He is of average vitality, with poor health, the result of excesses; of average intelligence, sensual habits, moral stolidity, extreme conceit, and fond of flash dressing. His position in the criminal scale is that of pander to the vices of criminals. He does not in the remotest degree represent "man fallen from his high estate," for, if he ever had a moral nature, like the mathematical point which is susceptible only of position, it could have had dimensions neither of length, breadth or depth, and, lacking altitude, could not have been dethroned. Even his wounds, not received in battle, are characteristic. He has a ventral hernia, caused by a blow with a bottle, received some years ago in his own liquor shop. He claims that his father was a wealthy lumber merchant, who lost his wealth by speculation, which statements are more than doubtful. At 15 he was placed with a paper decorator, where "I had all the chances for a good trade, but the boss left the contract," and he left off work for good. He offers no account whatever of the time that elapsed to his twenty-first year, when he established himself in business, referring to it as "my place." This, on inquiry, turned out to be a cut between a rum shop, a brothel and a gambling hell, during the eight years that he kept it up before he failed in 1869. On entering the examining room, before being asked to sit down, he flung himself in a chair in a lolling way, crossed his legs and settled himself to first learn what was *my* object in summoning *him*. He wanted to know "Why have *I* been picked out for this here?" nodding toward my papers. When I had explained to him that he had not been singled out, he threw back his head in rest against the chair in the attitude of an umpire, his thumbs inserted in the arm holes of his convict jacket and working his loose fingers like a supercilious fop, conscious of the superiority of his diamond studs, and cutting his narrative into laconic sentences with the philosophic equanimity of a finished man of the world. His eyes thoughtfully traveled to various corners of the room, at moments rest-

ing on me, the neophyte, with patronizing condescension as he revealed the arcana of a sporting life. As he expounded his position with a sort of forensic conceit that lent a keen and unconscious humor to his placid and dogmatic avowal of absolute moral imbecility, he related how at "my place" he kept a "quiet little game" and became acquainted with "gents." How he failed because he "was too generous to his friends," and had to accept the subordinate position of bartender in gambling places of various degrees of pretension where "I got to know all the professional gamblers in New York." He accounted for the crime for which he was committed, by stating that he "had had bad luck"—a euphemism to avoid saying that his circle of employers had found him too dishonest to trust near their tills—and finally he wound up by saying that he had fallen into shabby poverty, and "you see, I was accustomed to fine clothes, jewelry and what's nobby, so I couldn't go into the society I was accustomed to." Being in ill luck—that was the climax of his difficulties—he committed this forgery in the third degree to re-enter the congenial atmosphere of his social circle. He has succeeded, but by another portal. That the forgery was a fatal necessity and, therefore, justified, he established by describing his neediness and ended "of course what else could I do." Never the delusion of working distracted the directness of his logic; and I reflected, "constituted thus, surrounded from infancy by such mentors, what, indeed, else could he do." Upon being pushed for the details of his crime, he reluctantly confessed it was committed to secure a barrel of lard. Even he, a gentleman who scorns to stoop so low as to be a vulgar thief, could not help but smile to think that so respectable an achievement as forgery, done for the high-toned purpose of retrieving a temporary social eclipse, should have been perpetrated for such unromantic plunder. The State has at last laid its discriminating hand upon this grotesque, moral troglodyte, and forthwith he is compelled to the rigors of a demented system; he falls into the lock-step with the conceited strut of self-sufficiency; he fails to learn the fragment of a trade; he luxuriates in the congregate idleness and the enforced companionship of boon companions; he sleeps the torpid sleep of asphyxiation in the stratified dormitory of this great State and waits for the end of the ephemeral imprisonment which shall cause even handed and fully avenged justice to open the iron doors of his prison-house and set him free, purged of his offense by expiation for his crime.

Francis A. C——n, aged 41; attempt at grand larceny; two years and six months. He is of a nervous-bilious temperament, bright hazel eyes, fair intelligence, head average size, rather low, with fair perceptives and deficient reflectives. At 7 years of age, stole fruit and was sent for nine months to a reform school in Albany; at 8, petit larceny,

house of refuge nine months; at 12, juvenile asylum; escaped from that institution three times in four days; at 16, petit larceny, house of refuge two years and nine months; at 19, same offense, Blackwell's island three months; at 19½, four months at same place; at 26, in the army four years, when he became an habitual drunkard; at 31, petit larceny penitentiary one month; at 32, same offense, penitentiary four months; at 32½, same offense and punishment; at 33, grand larceny, Sing Sing two years and six months; at 36, petit larceny, Kings county penitentiary six months; at 36½, penitentiary four months; at 37, penitentiary five months; at 37½, penitentiary six months; at 38, penitentiary five months; at 41, present offense. Here we get nine years and a-half of imprisonment in a criminal career of thirty-four years. In the minutes of conversation with him he says: "I never learned a thing in my life in prison to benefit me outside. The house of refuge is the worst place a boy could be sent to." "Why so?" "Boys are worse than men; I believe boys know more mischief than men. In the house of refuge I learned to sneak-thief, shop-lift, pick pockets and open a lock." "How did you get the opportunity to learn all this?" "There's plenty of chance. They learn it from each other when at play." "But when you are at play you are otherwise occupied?" "Boys don't always want to play, and they sit off in the corner, and they get it" (criminal training). This man confessed to thirty arrests besides his sixteen convictions, and on the books of the prison is registered "second offense." He admits to committing 500 to 600 offenses a year, and "sometimes ten to fifteen different times in a day." On being asked how he could commit so many offenses in one day, he explained that if a gang of six would go out to help each other pick pockets, and they stole six empty "leathers,"* they would then have committed thirty-six offenses for nothing, or six offenses each. In order to get money enough, they might have to steal six wallets or watches, and as each theft represents six offenses, this would give twelve offenses in one day for each of the gang. This man revealed the full professional ethics of the criminal on being asked: "I suppose if a thief has plenty of money he doesn't run any further risk of stealing?" "A thief, *if he is a thief*, when he is going through the street, takes a thing if he has a chance, no matter how much money he has, for he'll never have that chance again." This man represents a class of offenders who are frequently met with in our penitentiaries. They have learned how to commit crimes so that they will receive only short sentences. The mistakes which neophytes commit they have learned to avoid, and how to "get off on a plea" is just as well known as "how to get away with a leather." Francis is an

* Pocket-books.

incorrigible offender, who has now reached an age when the criminal begins to think of abandoning active service to set up a fence, to act as an agent for a crime capitalist, or to become the foil for the manufacture of burglar tools. In other words, from being an individual depredator, with its high professional risks, he now contemplates entering a sphere in the circle of criminal commerce which will make him a hundred-fold greater menace to the property of the community than he can possibly now be with his own unaided hands. At the same time that he thus threatens, the power and ability of the law to reach him will be decreased, for, as the receiver is absolutely necessary for the success of the operations of the thief, so is he jealously guarded by his customers and saved from conviction if he is caught. What has the State done for this man who has "never learned a thing in my life in prison, to benefit me outside?" and what does the State now do to prevent him from wider mischief, beyond providing the lock-step which he has resolved to walk no more, the fragment of a trade which he does not learn, the congregate idleness and the enforced companionship of felons with whom he is making his bargains or from whom he is gathering credentials that will enable him to "set up" on his release, * the stratified domitories that only fortify his resolve to be done with them for good, and the ephemeral imprisonment which the State will shortly exchange for perpetual largesse, protected by a zealous fraternity who come to the relief of each member who "gets into trouble," so that they may the better protect their vocation.

In this series, whatever may have been the road which each has traveled, whether forecast by hereditary transmission or induced by miseducated childhood, these men now form a segment of that arc of habitual criminals which it is absolutely necessary to break. Men past reform, men dangerous and desperate, whose only service to the State is by being made examples of the austerity of her justice, must sternly be cut off from perpetuating a noisome progeny, either by propagation or by perversion of a coming generation. Where we cannot accomplish cure we must organize extinction. The old laws used to attempt this

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* As another illustration of "traffic" among the criminals in the State prison, the following is conspicuous: The leader of a gang of notorious burglars, whom we shall call C., was sentenced to State prison for 18 years for a daring masked burglary. Before forty-eight hours this man was visited by several of the convicts to get the last "outside news," for he is widely known among the profession as a successful operator. Among those who called was K., whose term of sentence was to expire in a few months. C. had partially organized several burglaries, some of which were on a large scale, and if successful would be "soft things" (profitable). The schemes for these he transferred to K., retaining as his interest in the transactions such money as would be necessary to "facilitate" a pardon, and with this bargain concluded, K. immediately organized his gang, choosing three other convicts whose terms of sentence would expire at various times not exceeding six weeks after his own. Thus, while the law catches the individual criminal, the prison fails to stop or seriously interrupt the execution of his plans.

by hanging; it was a mistake in many instances; for us the solution in these cases is simple, and it is believed, far more effective, separate and perpetual imprisonment, with certain mitigations, to guard against barbarity.

Frank P—— is a boy, aged 21; convicted of forgery in the third degree, and serving a two year sentence. He is of a sanguine, nervous temperament, with blue eyes and blue veins in his forehead and a transparent complexion. He is slight, and in the lineaments of the face, the narrowness of the base of the skull, the hesitating manner and the still more marked hesitation in the expression of opinions, you are conspicuously impressed that his will is even more weak than his physical constitution. When he tells yon that he has been, for months previous to his committing the offense, subject to insomnia; that for six years previously he has been using chloral habitually for headache; that when he was a baby he used to lose his breath and turn black in the face; that for two years before his arrest he would fall into violent fits of passion, preceded and followed by gloomy moments, alternating with buoyant hopefulness, you are prepared to learn that he has a nervously, disordered ancestry. His mother is a very small, nervous woman, descended from a very good stock, but undervitalized. His father turns out to have been committed to the same prison, when he was twenty-three years of age, for the same offense, serving a three year term. He afterwards set up in the trade he learned in prison, but so perversely dishonest and tricky was he that he failed, being deserted by his customers. Two of his employers who were seen, represent him as a man able to turn his hand to any thing, but who cannot be trusted ; who will appropriate small things, if he thinks they will not be missed, and who does not feel the least shame when detected. He seems to lack the moral sense utterly. Going back one generation, we find his aunt had an abscess in the small of the back, at about 59 or 60, which was followed in the following year by senile dementia, of which she died at 62. Her mother, who is the great grandmother of Frank, had cancer; at 63 she had a stroke of paralysis, followed by dementia, of which she died at 67. Her husband died of cancer at 56. In this case we find a criminal parentage, with an insane, and probably syphilitic ancestry; the question is, may not the dishonesty of the father be a moral idiocy inherited from the insane and distempered grandmother, which we, who are accustomed to find men with ordinary intelligence, also gifted with average conceptions of right and wrong, are mistaking for moral turpitude. In the case of this boy, the obvious treatment he needs is a thorough industrial training which will check his secret sexual habits, and thus prevent his mind from becoming wrecked. He has a fair share of moral sense, inherited from his mother; he is vain, and

this feature could be taken advantage of by a judicious educator, and, in five years from now, the present self-indulged weak-willed and decaying boy, may be fashioned into a comparatively well-balanced and self-sustaining man. But the process of reform in this case is evidently one which needs medical care, nourishing food, out-door exercise, varied occupation, so as to produce general, though not excessive fatigue, and the hope of a subsequent career, which will flatter his vanity in the accomplishment of it, and involving the accumulation of property.

J. T——, aged 60; petit larceny; two years; committed in December, 1869; insane. Born 1815, in Albany; father a blacksmith. At six to eight years of age, his father's employes sent him for whisky and molasses, "to make black strap, you know;" the men would give him the dregs at the bottom of the glass, "and it took hold of my tongue, you know, so I got in love with the little dram, and I like it to this day." At nine he steals a pocket-book with two dollars to buy rum, for which his father causes him to be sent to the jail for three weeks, and in the next five years commits many thefts to get money for liquor, and is sent three times to jail. At 14, father sends him to house of refuge, where he is very mischievous, and says that there he became a worse boy. After two years and three months, escaped and went to Canada, where he probably lived by theft. At 18, Auburn State prison; petit larceny second offense (more likely two hundredth offense), two years. At 20 discharged. At 21 first outbreak of insanity. At 22 committed to Sing Sing on three indictments; burglary, third degree, five years; petit larceny and burglary, third degree, 2 years, at expiration of first sentence; and burglary, third degree, two years additional. At 25, second outbreak chronic mania, while in prison. At 27, sent to the Bloomingdale Lunatic Asylum; exciting cause given, probably masturbation, but intensified by excessive intemperance in early childhood; "hereditary predisposition unknown." At 31 returned to Sing Sing prison (then Mount Pleasant) on October 20th, 1846, and the next day was sent to the State Lunatic Asylum at Utica; "is quiet, feeble in mind, in fair general health, indolent." At 32 works in tailor shop of asylum; when 33 was weak minded, calling himself sometimes the devil; sometimes God Almighty. At 41 eloped from the asylum and says he traveled three times from Albany to Buffalo seeking his relations. Was probably a vagrant and imprisoned many times in the next 15 years, but has lost memory of most of these events. At 55 Clinton prison, petit larceny, two years; and after 22 days was transferred to the asylum for insane criminals at Auburn, where he still remains, because he has no residence in any county to the poor-house of which he can be sent, and has no friends who can be found in whose custody he can be placed. His present form is moral insanity which has degenerated into dementia.

He was insane before and at the time of the last conviction. The career of this man is quite a remarkable one. Out of 60 years of life the official registers of various institutions account for 29½ years, and of the other 30½ years; probably 10 more were spent in prisons or poor-houses. So that 40 years — he says 43 years of his life — he has passed in prison and for 39 years he has been a poor, insane creature. It is not improbable that he comes from an insane lineage; that the insanity of his ancestors took the form of dipsomania in him, which, at an early age, degenerated into insanity. What he needed when nine years old instead of jail, was judicious medical treatment to guard against the threatening insanity, and had this been applied the dipsomania would have been cured and probably the mind saved and the man have led a useful life. When he was sent to the house of refuge he was taught formal morals instead of being physically cured of his disease, and the result was absolute failure. The initial trouble was physical disease involving a loss of the moral sense; the body had to be mended before the mind could be affected, and with this the perception of right and wrong made possible and the practice of duty probable.

T. C —— d, aged 47; assault and battery; six months in penitentiary. Is of a sanguine, lymphatic temperament, average vitality, good general health, but apathetic. He is intelligent, with a fair stock of useful knowledge, and was a school teacher when young, but now is an upholsterer. His moral sense is fair, but his will is weak. He served in the rebellion for nine months and was wounded in the head by a ball, which fractured the skull. Was insensible for several months, and after being trepanned came back to consciousness. In 1864 had an epileptic attack, a consequence of the injury received by the brain, and in the last 10 years has had ten or twelve epileptic seizures. Has probably been committed before for similar offenses; confesses that he has been in brawls before and that when he gets a little liquor he "gets off his head." Says he can't drink much for it makes him wild. This, while somewhat exaggerated, is quite consistent with his acquired epilepsy. In the upper posterior portion of the head on the right side is a depression of the skull from the bullet wound, in which the first joint of the finger may be laid to one-third its thickness. What this man needs, is to be withdrawn from the temptation of drink and placed where he will not be excited. There is hardly a doubt that he will commit murder some day; not because he is of a vicious or malignant temper, for his disposition is mild and apathetic, but because his epilepsy may at any moment be developed into a homicidal impulse which he cannot control. This man will probably be returned again and again to prison on short sentences for acts which are the direct result of disease, which will never be checked on account of the deterrent effect of imprisonment,

and will cost the State heavily for continual arrests and trials. Will presiding justice in our courts of law ever put her finger into the wound and learn what is the matter with this man? Yes, most undoubtedly *when he has murdered some poor victim* in some shocking way, then she will say that he must not be hanged because he is irresponsible. When justice does put her hand upon that wound she will have to call a physician to guide it to the spot, for is not justice blindfold? And it will not be justice either which decides whether the man is responsible for his violence or not, but it will be the doctor's dictum. Why should justice neglect to keep the doctor by, to help her to a wise judgment of his case when he is summoned at her bar for assault and battery, and make a fitting disposition that will forestall his braining a human creature. This is no improbable case, it has frequently occured. Three years ago an epileptic was committed to Sing Sing. Shortly after he was transferred to the insane asylum, and discharged from thence when his term expired. Within the last eight months he has again passed through the courts, been recommitted to Sing Sing, and one month ago was seized with an epileptic fit during which time he killed a fellow convict, after which he was again committed to the insane asylum, this time probably for life. Justice being blind, why should she neglect to make a medical inquest whenever a crime of violence has been committed, and, where the evidence shows such dangerous brain disorder, commit the accused to an insane asylum for life? In the case of an attempt to kill, in what respect does it differ from murder except in the fact of being not fatal? In these last three cases we have a series which begins with a case that illustrates the first steps in mental alienation, of which the next case furnishes the *denouement.* In boyhood Frank is troubled with bad headache, a mark of nervous disturbance; the chloral takes the place of the "black strap" which Johnny drinks at eight years old, and that is the mode in which each finds relief from mental depression, The passionate outbursts, the moodiness and the series of small forgeries, correspond to the moral idiocy of Johnny when he stole sugar to buy whiskey, and ran away from home to avoid parental restraint. The insomnia marks another gradation of mental degeneration, which, in the case of Johnny, is carried through many successive stages to acute mania, delusions, dementia, and only waits a death conformable to the character of the disease, to complete the cycle of social sterility which he has lived.

They all belong to a class of offenders whose deplorable parentage shows 40 per cent of unsound mind. But what does the State know of such per centages, although it is charged with the function of public education? Has not the combined wisdom of generations settled the proper policy by providing the lock-step to torment the shattered

nerves, the fragment of a trade that supplies the murderous or suicidal weapon, the congregate idleness that prepares for solitary debauch, the enforced companionship of felons in the stratified dormitories, where unmentionable crimes are perpetrated — inevitably perpetrated, because of the predisposing sloth — till, at last, the exhausted brain breaks down, and the congregate system adds one more maniac to the long list of wrecked lives which consecrate the walls of its prison houses, or, on the plea that he is pardoned by a bountiful mercy, sends the emaciated convict to his friends, to die upon the journey, so that the frightful death-rate of the prison shall be covered by this pitiful record of clemency.

In the foregoing fourteen examples we have illustrations of different fundamental crime causes, which range under a few general heads. Some men do not learn right from wrong because the physiological quality is poor ; some because the balance between passion and judgment is so ill adjusted that they run into excesses ; some from nurture in crime ; others from educational neglects. It is from a discriminating consideration of these and of allied facts, in each individual case, that the possibility of reform can be determined, and, where they are accurately measured, the limits of such reform established. Where the defect is congenital, as in idiocy, our power to control it is least ; where functional, as in the earlier stages of insanity and other diseases, it is greater ; where it results from educational neglect, it is greatest. But no scheme which has but one method of dealing with every class of cases, can be of any general value. As if there were not more in human nature than in any human device which does not include all varieties of human aberration and adapt itself to their multiplex requirements. What is wanted, is that an order of treatment in accordance with the ascertained deficiencies of each person shall be the key of the method of training, adopting any passion or emotion which is yet sound or serviceable for the purpose as a point of departure in the new education, and a weapon to conquer or amend the frailties of the character, thus making any good trait the nucleus for the crystalization of better habits.

In a former report* it was shown that heredity depends upon the permanence of the environment, and that a change in the environment † may produce an entire change in the career, which, in the course of greater or less length of time, according to varying circumstances, will produce an actual change in the character of the individual. Those who, like the idiot, are defective in the organization of the brain, cannot assimilate, so to speak, the impressions, moral or intellectual, which

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* See Jukes, proposition 5, p. 57. † Id., p. 52.

their environment furnishes as food for the formation of ideas, but which better organized brains easily lay hold of, and, by an orderly and now well understood process, organize into ideas and rules of life appropriate for the career which is to be pursued. Now, if the environment furnishes the elements of the mental nutrition, and largely determines by that means the character of the mental and moral growth, what are we to think of a prison system which, with vast perfunctory incompetence, masses an army of moral cripples, cursed with contaminating characteristics held in common, and thus, under the imposing title of "the congregate system," prepares an environment of criminal example just fitted for the assimilative power of each individual malefactor? Be it noted in all that has been said hitherto, with only one exception, the criticism applies to the *system* of congregate imprisonment, which, bad at first, has, in half a century, degenerated by progressive and successive forms, kinds and degrees of official corruption, ignorance and perhaps still more dangerous indifference, until it has neither philosophy, ascertained experience, justice, public advantage or common sense to recommend it. Not one word has been said of the abuses growing out of mismanagement except in one respect, that the number of convicts has so outgrown the provisions for their imprisonment, that they are now "doubled up"* to the extent of 1710 in the three State prisons. Bad as the system is, it does not contemplate this demoralizing practice. How soon is the State, with blindfold eyes, to cease employing her ignorant left hand as the aider and abettor of the most abandoned crimes of human nature, and with her nerveless right being forced to drag the ponderous sword of justice at her heels instead of wielding it as a weapon? Are we to wait till the public sense of humor shall be roused into a shout of derision at the huge buffoonry of an exhibition which makes rogues nudge each other, and turns good men into cynics? Upon what grounds shall we continue this system when the experience of other nations has demonstrated that *two years* of separate imprisonment has more effect in checking crime than *ten years* of congregate custody; that it reduces the necessity of punishment; that it prevents the contamination of the reformable; that it protects the convicts from recognition by their co-prisoners when liberated; that it checks the formation of gangs for future criminal operations, and that it cuts off the possibility of odious crimes which rivet the criminal habit because they obliterate the sense of self-respect and the voice of conscience as the first step in a mental degeneration that ends in a maniac's demise.

The best experience as respects all institutions is against the aggregation of similar defects, or similar misfortunes within the walls of a

* Placing two in a cell at night.

spacious building. The large hospital is making way for the pavilion, and in many cases the tent in the open air with its single patient; the orphan home, for the domesticating of the child in private families; the foundling hospital, for the nursing out system; and the insane asylum, for the private treatment of the mentally deranged. It is useless to resist a tide which thus sweeps from all directions, and must necessarily carry away the congregate method of treating every form of human infirmity.

In a former portion of this report allusion has been made to the remote means by which the per centages of criminals may be reduced. In this aspect the study of criminal carcers merges into a larger inquiry than its own special domain, and for its complete solution embraces the whole science of life. From this point of view the analysis of crime causes includes all the physiological and social phenomena which affect the well being and stability of the race in which the combined forces of the Court of General Sessions and the policeman's club play but a minor part. The fact that our present civilization is a growth through countless generations — the result of constant and cumulative training — seems to indicate that a discovery of the method and order of this growth, applied as a method of education, would develop, in a few generations, and in some instances in a single individual, a mental and physical condition equal to that which has taken countless generations to evolve. That this process is now measurably understood, makes it possible to adapt it to the reform of the criminal class.

In discussing the question of intermittent industry, it was shown that one of the causes of idle habits was primarily physical and mental disease. Now, a large proportion of the disease which prostrates the community is entirely controllable by sanitary precautions. The first condition, therefore, of social and moral regeneration is public health. The draining of lands, the sewerage of cities, the ventilation of houses, the amelioration of tenements, the cleansing of streets, the widening of thoroughfares, the demolition of rear buildings, the removal of cesspools, the purity of water supplies, the cubic space allotted to each person in dwellings, are only a few of the conditions, which if observed, will so improve the health of the general community that they will be more capable, and for that reason willing, to do their work without exhaustion than they now are, and with this additional increment of vitality will need less and therefore consume less of inebriating stimulants than they now do. Public health will react against intemperance in all its forms, and this again will react in maintaining and perfecting public health. In a community in which its infants are blessed with the advantages of perfect hygienic training, the body will assume that steady, uninterrupted growth which is the first requisite for the organization of a sound mind

and its concomitant — a well balanced life. Then will be possible the next great step in the larger domain of crime cure, the educational question. Those who comprehend the specific process of moral education, that it begins with certain concrete acts which, by repetition and variation, organize in the mind definite and permanent abstract conceptions of right and wrong, will see at once that the foundations of the moral character must be laid in the earliest infancy and must begin by the education of the senses. From babyhood infants must have liberty to use their limbs, toys to occupy their attention when awake, and when they are able to walk their play must be so directed that at least a portion of it shall take a systematic form which produces objects of beauty or of use as permanent results of their manual dexterity. Various materials, such as those suggested by Froebel in his kindergarten education, must be put into the child's hands to be fashioned into multiform objects, so that instruction will be imparted by means of the use of the hands. This exercise of the hands forms the basis of industrial training and unconsciously organizes the habit of industry, so that it becomes not only of easy performance but an essentially necessary activity of the waking hours. Given a taste for steady work and you have the best possible safeguard against the unbridled indulgence of the passions, and, with this, an effectual check to the formation of criminal practices which are, in a majority of instances, the direct result of indulgence in exhausting vices, or in the feverish pursuit of indulgences which a hard-working man does not think of. But the industrial training, here advocated, must not be the arbitrary imposition of a formal task. Work is not an education in its proper sense unless it enlists the putting forth of the powers of body and mind, simultaneously and cheerfully, to accomplish a predetermined result. For this reason, the "team system" of industry for children and youths, which is almost universal in our houses of refuge, is an educational blunder, and not industrial training in a proper sense. It does not produce habits of industry because it fails to employ the mind, and as the fraction of a trade it teaches soon becomes a purely automatic operation that requires no attention, the mind is left free to rove over the recollections of vice and schemes of mischief, which it is the purpose of the reformatory to obliterate by training.

Thus public health and infant education, conforming in general plan to Froebel's kindergarten school, are the two legs upon which general morality travels. It may be objected that the general community is not sufficiently trained to understand and to establish rational education as here indicated. If this be so, it is at least possible to order that a few hundred of the seven thousand convicts, who overcrowd our prisons, shall be dealt with intelligently. In the preceding pages, we

have endeavored to show that the two great faetors in a well balaneed life, are a healthy body properly developed and a sonnd and broad judgment, resulting in a well fashioned and powerful will. It now only remains to add that the same methods whieh will seeure the advantages of these for the general community, will also be efficaeious when applied to the reetifieation of nnbalanced lives. Indeed, it may be asserted that, inasmueh as the study of the defects of the blind, the deaf mnte and the idiotic has resulted in the diseovery of some of the most valuable axioms of educational seienee, so will the steady, eareful and masterly training of the eriminal add other axioms equally valnable in a eomplete system of edueation.

Family System.—In this field, it is not prematnre to say that the family system of discipline for penal institutions must take an important plaee, especially for the young. It enables the managers, by a skillful seleetion of temperaments and dispositions whieh shall healthfully react on eaeh other, to segregate those who suffer from similar defieieneies, so that the defeets of one shall not become a demoralizing example to the rest, and to group sneh natures as present well organized habits, so as to beeome exemplars to those who lack those special habits, thus to eonsciously organize, by artificial means, an environment in which the eonviets themselves will beeome instruments for eaeh other's regeneration. The present deplorable eondition of the prison system in our State justifies the question: Shall the Elmira Reformatory be this opportunity and become a new departure, or be a base repetition of the present failure? It has been said that the family system is, after all, a modifieation of the eongregate. This criticism is equal to that of the man who said, when looking at a beautifully modeled statue, made in elay taken from the road whieh he had traveled to visit the artist's studio: "Well, after all, this is only the mud I trod on." The point is not the material, but the use that is made of it, and if the family system is admitted to be a modifieation of the congregate, the differenee between them is the differenee between mud and art.

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